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JANUARY, 1921

THE ARMY IN INDIA

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GEORGE YOUNGHUSBAND,
K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.

BOTH the Army in India and the Indian Army have in the course of centuries gone through many changes and been subject to many reforms, but perhaps never in the history of our connection with India has a more able and exhaustive (not exhausting) report been furnished than has been produced by the Esher Committee.

It may be superfluous to the initiated, but useful to the general reader, to mention that the Army in India and the Indian Army are not the same thing. The Army in India is the whole military force in that country, part of which consists of British cavalry, British artillery, and British infantry, whilst the other portion is composed of Indian cavalry, Indian infantry, and Indian engineers. On the other hand, when speaking of the Indian Army reference is made *only to the Indian portion of the Army in India*, including, of course, the British officers who serve permanently with it.

Lord Esher, though a civilian himself—and here the Army lost a valuable recruit—has made a close examination of military subjects and especially of military administration—in plain words, the best and most practical way of running an army. After the South African War he was called into council with invaluable results to the organization of the British Army, and thus no more suitable or competent chairman could have been selected at the end of the Great War for the Committee which was invited to advise the Government on the periodical reforms required

in every army, and which applied naturally also to the Army in India. A very able and representative body of members was selected to aid him in his labours. Amongst them is to be found one of the most commanding personalities who have appeared in Indian history since Sir John Laurence, and, like that great man, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Amongst the military members were included both Sir Claud Jacob, a first-class soldier, who during the Great War by sheer war merit won his way from comparative obscurity to the command of an army corps in France, and to the esteem of all who served under him ; and Sir Webb Gillman, one of the bright intellectual lights, who during the war displayed the highest qualities of a first-class staff officer in the upper realms of that exacting service.

Nor were our Indian fellow-subjects forgotten, for included were Sir Krishna G. Gupta and Sir Umar Hyat Khan. Of the latter, to those who have known him since he was a boy, it is a pleasure to remember that he is, and always has been, a chivalrous loyal chieftain, born and bred of soldier stock, and both with his sword or in council ready to stand against all comers for George V., his King and Emperor.

A committee thus composed may well command respect for the views it puts forward, and for the reforms it may suggest. It has every claim to impartiality, and has nothing to fear or gain from anybody, and can, as a committee, look at the problem from the highest and broadest standpoint, the welfare of the Empire.

Commencing at the top of the tree, it is recommended that the Viceroy, instead of having perpetually to refer to the Secretary of State for India on military matters, which in fact means referring to a junior officer who is the Secretary of State's military secretary, should be given greater independence, depending solely on the military advice of the Commander-in-Chief in India. This Commander-in-Chief is to be appointed with the concurrence,

or to put it more plainly, on the recommendation of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. For clearly the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, under which pretentious title is really disguised the old and time-honoured Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, will not concur in the appointment of any but his own nominee, and without that concurrence the Cabinet would be placed in the awkward position of recommending to the King the appointment of an officer not considered the best by the War Office.

The Commander-in-Chief is not only, however, to owe his appointment to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, but he is in all Imperial military questions under his orders.

This recommendation has caused some excitement in quarters once deemed influential, but to all who have had a varied experience in the different theatres during the Great War the absence of a central control in the earlier stages was painfully manifest. Though the recurrence of so great a war within the century is extremely improbable, yet it is only wise to learn by the past and have our house set to order, so that we may be ready to meet the constantly recurring but comparatively small problems which the control of an immense Empire entails.

Both the present Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson, and his successors will no doubt heartily endorse the recommendation of Lord Esher's Committee that he shall be relieved of his duties in the Viceroy's council, except when military matters are being discussed. It borders on the ridiculous that a Commander-in-Chief, whose whole time must necessarily be occupied in the command of 250,000 soldiers spread over an immense continent, should be called upon to sit hour after hour listening to a debate on irrigation or railways, and perhaps be expected to make a speech on these alien subjects.

Lord Kitchener, who initiated this curious position, and therefore felt bound to maintain that he had plenty of time for it, in reality found none. He would take out of his

pocket a learned speech written out for him by an expert on canals or sanitation, and which he apparently up to that moment had never even glanced at. This he would solemnly read out, and next day it would assuredly appear in the papers as one of the "masterly utterances of Lord Kitchener": Doubtless much to the amusement of Lord Kitchener, and perhaps still more so of the underling who had written the masterly utterance. One seems to have come across similar curiosities in the House of Commons.

An agitation has been started in England and heartily taken up by odds and ends of people who, some infected with the old tremors of the Little Englanders of unhappy memory, and some with a manifest axe to grind against the attitude taken up by Lord Esher's Committee, on the part which the Army in India should play as a portion and honoured portion of the Imperial Forces of the Crown. The Committee very rightly suggests that in matters which affect the Empire as a whole, the central control shall lie under the King's hand in London, the capital of the Empire. Had this central strategic control existed at the beginning of the Great War, there would have been no Gallipoli, no Mesopotamia, and a much more deliberate and concentrated effort in East Africa. The fortune of war having brought these great territories Mesopotamia, and East and West German Africa, under the flag, it behoves England of to-day to shoulder the burden as did England of old. Some people call it providence, some say it is destiny, some say it is some irresistible force moving for the good of the world, but however and whatever the motive power may be, the fact remains that from the island in the North Sea great nations have been established in the four corners of the world, whilst countless millions of human beings of every colour and religion have been given security, wealth, and good government under the British flag. In that great Empire it is the privilege of India to be included. Outside the British Empire India would become the theatre, not only of the most appalling state of inward anarchy in which

the less warlike portions would become the prey of the more warlike, but also an easy mouthful for any warlike and predatory nation from without. Against those dangers, the might and prestige of England guards the Indian Empire, and it seems only right that she should bear her share in maintaining her own prosperity, this prosperity, be it carefully noted, being entirely dependent on the world power of the British Empire.

A good deal of unnecessary sentiment appears to have been aroused on the question of using Indian troops out of India in aid of the Empire generally. Positively dreadful results are prophesied by tremulous scribes, including mutiny, sedition and general insurrection. Nearly forty years' service with various Indian regiments impels the writer to greatly discount this notion. The Indian soldier, when he has gone through his recruits' course, which takes about a year, is formally sworn into the King's service, and the oath he takes specifically mentions that he is prepared to serve wherever he is sent, *by land or by sea*. There is no obligation to take this oath, the recruit has been a year in the regiment and knows the exact terms of service, and it is open to him to take his discharge if he does not want to bind himself by this oath of discipline and allegiance. As a matter of fact, he gladly takes it, and far from objecting to service across the seas, he eagerly grasps the chances that fall in his way. Any discontent that came under the writer's notice was caused not on being ordered across seas, but rather was to be noticed a feeling of soreness at being left behind, whilst another regiment had been selected.

As Lord Esher's Committee points out, the Indian soldier is now splendidly paid compared to his father, and there is no lack of recruits. Of course, if you or I or the newspapers continually tell an Indian that he is badly treated or has a great grievance and then ask him if it is not true, he will reply: "Without doubt. Your Honour knows best." Those acquainted with Ireland will tell the same

story. A correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* or *The Times* or the *Daily News* may be perfectly assured of finding in Ireland or in India or in Egypt anything they may require to fill their columns suitably.

On the subject of the Officering of the Indian Army the Committee has much to say and makes some thoughtful suggestions. There is not the least doubt that at present it is difficult to get the best cadets at Sandhurst to join the Indian Army. Before the Great War this was far otherwise, for to be certain of obtaining a vacancy in the Indian Army a cadet had to pass out of Sandhurst within the first ten, in competition with perhaps 150 cadets. The Committee gives two reasons for this unpopularity, but possibly out of diffidence does not mention the main reason. This is that British officers will not join a regiment where they are liable, as now, to be commanded by Indians. Much as they admire and respect the Indian soldier, nothing will induce many old officers to allow their sons to join the Indian Army under these conditions. It is perhaps not here desirable to enter into details, but anyone acquainted with India or the Indian Army can supply them.

Lord Esher's proposal is that British officers shall be transferable from the British Service to the Indian Service and *vice versa*, doing certain terms of service with each. And to promote a bond of union between British and Indian regiments it is suggested that battalions, say the Border Regiment and 6th Jats, shall be affiliated together, for the purposes of this mutual interchange of British officers. The great drawback to such an arrangement is that the fighting value of an Indian regiment has greatly, one might almost say entirely, depended on the close attachment between the Indians in the ranks and their own particular British officers. They would go anywhere and do anything for those particular officers, but as this war has shown, when that tie is broken by casualties and otherwise, the fighting-value of the unit does not remain at the same high standard.

The proposal which I ventured to make to the Committee

on this point was that if from political expediency it was absolutely necessary to give the King's Commission to Indians, then it would be advisable that these should serve in regiments entirely officered by Indians. It was pointed out that the present Imperial Service troops might serve as a nucleus or model for such regiments. This solution, it was contended, would do away with the great objection, now very clearly demonstrated, which British officers have to join a service where they are liable to be under the command of Indians.

Some very useful suggestions are made by the Committee on the subject of "Followers," that is officers' servants, cooks, sweepers, water-carriers, and clerks. Not very long ago all these were private servants, kept up mainly at the expense of the officers or the men, and they were employed in large numbers. Thus the roll of followers used sometimes nearly to equal the fighting strength of a force. The origin of this system was that if the fighting strength of a regiment was a 1,000 of all ranks, that 1,000 turned out to a man on every parade and every fight. The whole of the camp work was done by the followers. Thus when the tired warrior returned his dinner was ready, and if a cavalryman a syce was ready to groom and feed his horse and clean his sword. He was a soldier pure and simple, and menial work was done by non-combatants, that is private servants paid by him. It is doubtless neater and simpler to have all these followers enlisted as soldiers, but it must not be forgotten that the fighting strength of the regiment is appreciably diminished. Any Colonel of a British regiment, either in the field or in the barracks, knows this to his cost. The ration strength and the bayonet strength of a regiment are two very different things. If, therefore, followers are enlisted in an Indian regiment, it would be only wise to raise its established strength by that number.

The medical arrangements of the Indian Army came under very severe censure during the earlier phases of the campaign in Mesopotamia. But in justice to the Indian

Medical Service it must be pointed out that this was not their fault. It was the fault of Lord Kitchener's Reforms. To get money for other doubtless urgent matters, the Indian Medical Service was cut down in the most drastic manner, so that even on a small frontier expedition the arrangements for the sick and wounded were deplorably insufficient. After one such expedition in the Kitchener era this was pointed out, but the officious person who did so was severely snubbed for his trouble. In former times the Indian Medical Service in the field was the best in the world, and a model for all, but bricks even in Mesopotamia cannot be made without straw. The Indian Medical Service is no longer popular and no longer attracts a severe competition, and this for the very same reason as that which prevents cadets from Sandhurst from going into the Indian Army. The Indian Medical Service has now for some years been open to Indians, and these have joyfully flowed into it. But, unfortunately, out of the other door have flown the British officers who formerly composed it, and by their zeal and professional skill brought it to its highest state of efficiency.

The Committee draws attention to this matter and very pertinently points out that English ladies, the wives of officers, strongly object to being attended by an Indian doctor. Nor curiously enough is this feeling confined to English ladies, for the Indian soldiers themselves generally prefer to be attended by an Englishman.

Apparently, the two Indian members were granted the privilege of writing each a short exposition of their private views after signing the main report. Sir Krishna G. Gupta, a Bengali, welcomed this opportunity for writing a note which, in plain language, presses for a state of affairs which would amount to the complete supersession of British military control in India by Indian military control. Idealists have maintained that the British do not hold India by the sword. They are in one way correct, and in another and wider sense incorrect. The British sword, whilst threaten-

ing none but evil-doers and revolutionary rascallions, protects the weak and restrains the strong.

The other Indian, given his say, is Sir Umar Hyat, the chieftain of a tribe in the Punjab, composed very largely of men born and bred light cavalrymen, superb riders, and possessing a skill in the use of sword and lance equalled by few nations. Were British control removed or even weakened, it would be perfectly open to Sir Umar Hyat and other warlike leaders to reap a rich harvest out of their weaker neighbours both in spoils and territory. But Sir Umar Hyat with soldierly bluntness takes exactly the opposite view to that enunciated by Sir Krishna G. Gupta; he advocates the maintenance of the strong arm which ensures the safety and well-being of India. He takes a broad and sane view of India and the problem of its prosperity, and every line he writes breathes an honest and upright loyalty to the Emperor of India and the great Empire of which this chivalrous Indian chieftain is a member.

THE PRESENT POSITION IN CHINA

BY HIS EXCELLENCY SAO KI ALFRED SZE

WE are a people who, of all living races, go farthest back into the past. We were a nation long before the Roman set foot in this island. For more than twenty centuries we were living in the valleys of our great rivers before the English entered the Thames Valley. And the whole of Europe was pagan when Confucianism was already, for more than five hundred years, a living creed and a social code in our midst. The peoples and the races who were our contemporaries in those distant days have all disappeared into the night of the past. But we survive. And we survive, not as a dying race, but as a great coherent body of 400,000,000 people. And note this fact : whilst we are the oldest living race on earth, our mind possesses a vitality and elasticity which has enabled us to adopt the most advanced forms of parliamentary government—namely, republicanism.

What is the reason for this survival—for this passage of the Chinese people, as a living nation, through the ages ? It is no doubt difficult to explain a great historical fact like this in terms of a single cause. But I suggest that it is largely to be explained by Chinese adaptability—by the capacity of the Chinese to respond to the demands of change and adapt and readjust themselves to any new environment in which they may find themselves.

This, perhaps, may sound strange to those who have always been told that China is changeless. But this is a saying that is not only untrue, but full of mischief. It is mischievous because it causes people to think that the present state of China, with its unrest and disarray, is due

entirely to the incapacity of her people to adapt themselves to the new conditions of life which foreign pressure and influence has set up around them. And from this belief you get that very sinister view which would see China, with her illimitable man-power and vast natural resources, placed under the tutelage of some other state inspired with a greater will to power.

It is no doubt true that there exists a certain degree of unrest and political disturbance in China to-day. But it is very important to realize that this is a state of things which occurs, and has occurred, in every country where a new system of government or some other fundamental change in the life of a people has taken place. You see this fact of unrest and disorder in nearly every country in Europe to-day. The Great War has released ideas and forces which go to the foundation of what is called the European system. And there are observers who hold that this period of unrest and disturbance will continue for at least a generation. It is argued that a new system of life is being introduced into Europe, and, until you have bred and trained new men to work this new system, the men trained under the old dispensation must go on with the task of government. And, it is added, as it is impossible to have the new system properly worked by these men, a period of disturbance must ensue and continue pending the appearance of the new workers.

Twenty-five hundred years ago Confucius defined this same problem of government. "Let there be the men," the sage said, "and government will flourish; but without the men government decays. With the right men the growth of government is rapid, just as vegetation is rapid in the earth. Therefore the administration of government lies in getting proper men."

Whether this Confucian view of the European situation is sound or not, there can be no doubt that we are faced in China with the same sort of problem which seems to confront you here in Europe. And most Chinese who

think over the matter believe its solution lies in the direction indicated by the Master. Up to the date of the Chinese Revolution in 1911-12 China was ruled by an autocracy. The revolution destroyed the autocratic system of government and replaced it by a democratic system. This point was emphasized some little time ago by a Chinese publicist in one of the daily papers in London. China, he said, is now passing through a period of transition and is adjusting a system of government created under autocracy into a democratic system. Under autocracy the country was considered the property of the ruler, whereas now it is regarded as the common possession of the nation. And he went on to point out that the present difficulties in China were largely due to the inevitable disorganization caused by this transition. To work the democratic principle you must have the necessary machinery in the form of parliamentary institutions; and this machine has hitherto been worked by men trained under the old system of government, because the country must be governed in one way or another, even if mistakes are made. And he insisted that in every instance where a nation had passed through a fundamental change there had always been a period of unrest and disturbance, which was but an expression of the nation's efforts to adjust its old life to the conditions and demands of a new environment.

This view of the situation in China implies that the present political and economic difficulties of the country are not the outcome of racial incapacity or faults of character, but the marks and signs of a period of transition. In other words, these difficulties are the surface effects of the great movement of life that is daily changing the whole face of China. They are signs of vitality, not of decay.

Now let me show that this is a view shared by others who are not Chinese. M. Paul Painlevé, the ex-Premier of France, who was the chief of a mission to China in the summer, issued the following statement on the departure of his mission for France :

"The three months which we have spent in vast China have been of enthralling interest to my friends and me. For many years I have had great admiration for China's past, and at the same time great confidence in her future. The views, observations, data, which I have continuously amassed during my tour have only confirmed my convictions.

"Here, briefly, are the chief reasons for this :

"(1) The military disorders as between Provinces and the rivalries of the Tuchuns or military governors, which give rise to so much pessimism regarding the evolution of Chinese democracy, are far more *superficial* than deep-rooted, and only paralyze to a very faint degree the working activity of the nation. It must be realized that these events are being enacted on a stage greater than Europe, and, further, that the Chinese Republic has only existed for less than ten years.

"(2) Contrary to the opinion current in Europe, it is not true that the Chinese nation is vegetating in a sort of stagnation. The evolution of its ideas, customs, and industries is, on the contrary, quickening in striking fashion. The twentieth century will be China's century, just as the outstanding feature of the nineteenth century was the unprecedented development of America.

"(3) The thirst to learn and to become familiar with the Western sciences is prodigious among the young generation in China. In spite of difference of language, the Chinese brain is just as capable of cultivating the rational and experimental sciences as the European brain. But what this huge nation lacks is scientific atmosphere. The Western nations must help China to form the first thousand of Chinese savants as speedily as possible. China will then resume the place which she occupied in the past and which she must occupy again, in world civilization.

"(4) Public opinion already exists in China to-day, and, although it does not manifest itself, as in the West, in accordance with legal forms prescribed by a Constitution, it

is already singularly powerful, and will soon be irresistible. It is becoming more and more national without being anti-foreign. In a recent and penetrating work, M. Hovelague wrote that China was a civilization rather than a nation. To-morrow, whilst remaining a civilization, China will be a nation, extensively decentralized, but one and indivisible, a nation which will be an element of weight in the concert of civilized powers."

Dr. Reinsch, the late American Minister at Peking, is also a witness in the same sense. Dealing mainly with the political aspect of the Chinese situation, he concludes a powerful statement on the subject in these words :

"The recent history of China has been a series of trials and of great lessons teaching the futility of all personal ambition and narrow politics and intrigue. President Yuan Shih-k'ai, with all of his personal ability and strength, was unable to realize his ambition to force Chinese development back into dynastic currents. Chang Hsun in vain attempted to resurrect the dynastic tradition of the old régime. Notwithstanding the conservation of the Chinese race, the nation did not desire such a return to an outlived system.

"More recently the attempt has been made to found a political power on military organization and foreign financial support. Before intense popular disapproval an organization which seemed formidable crumbled in a week. All these attempts have been unsuccessful.

"Through all these trials and with much discouragement the growing consciousness of the Chinese people has victoriously asserted itself. That has been superior to the cunning of politics and the force of military organization. An attempt to oppose this force is like trying to stem the tide of the Yangtze River with an artificial dam; the majestic flow may be held up for a little while at the cost of flood and misery to the surrounding country; but the final course of the stream cannot be obstructed. Even so the course now definitely taken by the Chinese people towards representative institutions may indeed be obstructed, and

that at the cost of much misery and discouragement ; but its constantly more effective realization is now apparent. Wise statesmen will ally themselves with this great force and will then stand firmly planted with a legitimate influence with which no personal power won by intrigue or self-assertion can be at all compared. The lesson of the recent experience is plain. It would be blindness to ignore it."

I hope that I may be pardoned for having quoted, at some length, these views of the ex-French Prime Minister and the late American Minister to China, but these views are of exceptional interest and value. They are the considered opinions of two distinguished observers who have lately informed themselves of the facts of the Chinese situation on the spot.

It seems to me that, in the light of what M. Painlevé and Dr. Reinsch have said, the Chinese situation ought no longer to be obscure, for instance, to your distinguished Foreign Minister, Lord Curzon, who, at the annual dinner of the Central Asian Society last month, said that China had become republic and was in the throes of a military crisis whose upshot no one could see.

Fortunately for the peace and security of the world, the peaceful development of China and her millions is an absolute certainty unless, indeed, that development is deflected by foreign agency into channels of militarism. *The Chinese* development of China, if I may put it that way, must make for peace if only because the whole of Chinese culture rests on the power and appeal of moral force. The entire body of Confucian teaching centres around that conception. We hold material force so meanly that the soldier is the lowest member in our social hierarchy. And this Chinese valuation of the fighting man will remain unchanged as long as the Chinese people are allowed to progress and develop along the lines of their own national character.

EUROPE AND ASIA OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

BY THE HON. W. ORMSBY GORE, M.P.

ADVANCES in the discovery and application of the physical sciences in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gave to the white races of Europe and their kinsmen in the American and Australasian continents such technical superiority in the arts of peace and war over the more numerous inhabitants of Asia and Africa that the impact of the West upon the East appeared to be an impact of domination. Japan provided the one exception. Japan alone of non-white people acquired in an even shorter time the same technical mastery in the use of metals and mechanical contrivances which is such an outstanding feature of modern Western civilization. The result of this technical superiority in the arts and sciences of the white races has been described as economic imperialism, and though this inevitable pressure by the more skilled on the less skilled has been gradually developing ever since Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape over 400 years ago, the rate was tremendously accelerated during the twenty years immediately preceding the Great War.

Take Africa as an example, and what is true of Africa is true of Asia, though in a lesser degree. In 1880 less than a million square miles, with a total population of nine millions, were in the hands or under the control of European States. By 1914 eleven million square miles, with a population of one hundred and sixty millions, had passed under such control. Since 1870 France has annexed Annam Tonkin; Britain, Burma; and Russia, West Central Asia; and more far-reaching than even any annexation has been the depenetration of Western economic influence upon China, the Ottoman Empire, and even Persia.

The construction of railways and opening up of Western trade and commerce in China from 1897, when a Belgian syndicate obtained a concession for building a railway from Peking to Hankow, up to the "twenty-one demands" of the Japanese in 1915, has in effect destroyed the old political, social, and economic system of three hundred millions of people. Such a revolution as has been effected by this impact of the West upon the East cannot be matched by anything in previous history, and from whatever point of view we look at it (whether Asiatic, African, or European) the problem now presented by the effects of the world war upon this impact is in many ways the most gigantic problem of the coming generation.

We have seen the whole social and economic system of one of the great European Powers come to complete ruin and disaster in the case of Russia. The rest of Europe is burdened with a gigantic war debt and threats of internal convulsion. Such a situation materially alters the capacity of European national States and peoples, and has rendered them incapable of continuing in the same manner the exercise of the pre-war rate of pressure upon the East. Apart from the great changes effected by the war upon social and economic conditions in Europe, there is a moral change as well. Judging from the Indian Reform Act of 1919, and from the Milner proposals regarding Egypt, it would appear that the moral and political relations between Europeans and non-Europeans are about to undergo wide change.

Before the war the technical superiority of the Europeans in the arts and sciences of peace and war had their counterpart in a certain consciousness in the minds of both Europeans and non-Europeans alike that this technical superiority extended to the arts of government. This consciousness is now challenged, and not by non-Europeans only, and it is challenged at a moment when non-European races, so far from seeking development of their own indigenous ideas, have become captivated by the political thought of Europe, which may be summed up in the two words "nationalism" and

"democracy." Nationalism, or perhaps we should say patriotism, has for many centuries been the distinguishing feature of Japanese political thought, and this has in the past principally distinguished Japan from the rest of Asia, and has facilitated the westernizing of Japan.

In China, India, and South-Western Asia, nationalism as we know it in Europe and Japan is a very young plant indeed, and its growth has been forced as if in a hot-house by the events and ideas produced by the Great War. We must not be surprised, therefore, if the plant, though apparently vigorous, shows signs of having overgrown its strength. It is, however, a plant that has its root well established in the soil, and as such is probably capable of resisting diseases within and buffetings from without. Great Britain, America, and even Russia, seem inclined to accept its consequences. The first of these consequences is that in the future the East may be willing, and even anxious, to accept the superior technical services of white races—it will accept them more on its own terms rather than upon terms dictated by the West. There will, of course, be those Asiatics who will form the opinion that the West has no further good to give, and that they had best try to work out their own salvation or damnation unaided. The impact of the nineteenth century, however, has been so far-reaching in its results that Asia will probably find, and probably even now realizes, that it cannot do without European assistance. If Asia wished to react and to restore the system of dynastic autocracies and religious conservatism, it might then be able to do without the West, but this does not seem to be the present wish of Asia.

The Asiatic peoples have caught the European belief in material progress and political liberty, but, for the most part, they are not yet equipped with the necessary command of forces, whether intellectual or material, to realize such ideals unassisted. Of course, the changed outlook of the Asiatic peoples does not extend to the unlettered masses, any more than similar changes have extended to similar masses in European countries in the past—no more, for instance, than

the materialist philosophy of Karl Marx has really affected the mental outlook and traditional habits of the Russian peasant. But the new outlook does extend almost universally to the educated minority, and in the history of mankind it is the educated minority that usually prevails over the uneducated majority, for no form of government can persist for any length of time without them. It will not be sufficient in the twentieth century for Europeans to endeavour to act as the trustees who protect the uneducated cultivator of the soil against the educated minority of his fellow-countrymen. The West has got to come to terms, and preferably to friendly terms, with the educated minorities.

The task is not an easy one either for the European or the non-European. Race-consciousness or colour-feeling is probably stronger to-day on both sides than it has ever been. Political and economic factors are tending to emphasize a feeling which fundamentally is based on a growing dislike of intermarriage and a heightened sense of racial purity. In its acute form this sense of racial differentiation has increased with advancing civilization, although it seems to cut athwart the teachings of all the great world religions—Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism. One of the chief political causes of this intensification of racial feeling among Europeans in Asia is the consciousness among the Europeans that they are numerically a mere handful surrounded by overwhelming numbers. The unhappy events in the Punjab last year were very largely the result of almost instinctive feelings of self-preservation aroused by an outburst of racial passion in Amritsar following on the intervention of the executive Government by the arrest of a couple of political leaders.

The task of those selected Europeans who are called upon to devote themselves to share in the responsibilities of government or of functional organization of any kind in Asia and Africa is not rendered any easier by this growing racial consciousness, for in the future even more than in the past there will be required from them, not merely that moral standard

and technical efficiency which have been the foundation of their successes, but also an intellectual understanding which is a rarer quality. Granted that race-consciousness and the growth in the East of the conception of nationality, which is, after all, but a personal attribute shared by a number of individuals, is inevitable and right, the only possible golden bridge, the only possible guarantee that such consciousness will not result in conflict, lies in better mutual comprehension. The self-determination of nations without a League of Nations leads inevitably to Armageddon. The intensification of national passion is the chief cause of modern wars. The recent history of the Balkans is clear evidence of the danger to humanity and peace of over-emphasized nationality. The antagonism between two races and two different systems of religion in Ireland is a danger-signal regarding the limitations which beset nationality. And yet nationalism is the real basis of the present organization of the world. It cannot be destroyed even if it were desirable to do so. The mediæval Empire and the mediæval Papacy, both heirs of the Roman Empire, sought the achievement of a world polity. The very attempt produced European nationalism. On top of the modern intensification of nationalism all over the world has come that dangerous phrase "self-determination." Malta for the Maltese, Orissa for the Oriyas, Nauru for the Nauru Islanders, might result in the world being divided into between two and three thousand national States. The fissiparous possibilities of self-determination are wellnigh limitless and would result in the downfall of civilization. Almost any form of imperialism would be better. The worst thing about Sinn Fein is its name. "Ourselves alone" is of all political doctrines the most damnable. The problem of the age is not how far we can live apart from each other, but how much we can live together. Combination and co-operation are infinitely preferable to tribalism. In the Near and Middle East already political disintegration is a danger to all peace and progress, particularly in the Arab world. The great danger is lest Asia, in attempting to apply the political catch-

words of the West, may commit political suicide. Nothing is more significant of the age in which we find ourselves than the "tyranny of phrases," and the consequent power of the man who can create or manipulate phrases, whether he be politician, journalist, or philosopher. Hitherto Europeans in Asia have been equipped to act, but not to explain. Now they are called upon to explain, and to the average Englishman even more than to the average Frenchman explanation does not come easily. In England itself the superior rhetorical facility of the Irishman and the Welshman, the more argumentative rationalizing of the Scot, have obtained for the "Celtic fringe" political ascendancy in the Labour party, just as they have in the Parliamentary arena. It looks as if the same phenomena would take place in India. The power is being slowly transferred to the glib of tongue and the man with the skilful pen. To a certain extent this is inevitable in an age where there has been a general but very limited advance in literary education. The hope is that the educational standard of to-day will be greatly surpassed in the coming generation. Meanwhile the moral responsibility for the future rests heavily on the "political" classes, both in East and West. The skilful use of speech and pen has become the high road to power, and many are the temptations that lie lurking along that road. And when power has been obtained by that road, power is not always so easily retained. The competition is great and the stakes are high. No form of government can ever be perfect in this world, and democracy is no exception to this fundamental law. Democracy is at best the least dangerous and most easily corrected form of government. The demagogue and the phrase-maker constantly threaten democracy by irresponsible use of exceptional gifts not possessed by their fellows. *Vox populi* is not *vox Dei*. Asia is bent on following Europe in further experiments in democracy, and many are apprehensive of the results. Mr. Montagu stated on the third reading of the India Reform Act of last year that whereas we had given India good government, we were now giving her something

better—viz., self-government. From this, once given, there can be no turning back. The conditions are changed fundamentally for good or for ill. India is embarking on her great experiment, and it is up to us to help and encourage and not to discourage; but let there be no mistake, responsibility is passing from European to Asiatic shoulders. This fact, important enough in itself, is a symbol of a change of relationship between East and West which is far-reaching. The war marks the termination of one era and the commencement of a new one. The new is full of peril, but it is also full of promise. Let us hope that it is the optimist and not the pessimist who will be justified by events.

THE PROBLEM OF KOREA

BY F. A. MCKENZIE

The well-known *Daily Mail* War-Correspondent in the Far East, whose book on "Korea's Fight for Freedom" has just been published

THE future of Korea presents a problem not alone for Japan but for the world at large. The extraordinary and dramatic developments in that country during the past few years, the revival of nationality in a people whose patriotism was thought to be dead, the growing unrest and the ever-increasing importance of the peninsula in deciding the future of Eastern Asia cannot be ignored.

Is there any way in which Japanese ambitions and Korean claims can be mutually satisfied? Can both peoples find a compromise which will make an end of the present unrest?

No reasonable Japanese, fully acquainted with the history of what has happened in Korea, will deny that his country has been unfortunate and ill-advised in many of its actions there. No friend of Korea will deny that the Korean people themselves were at the start largely to blame for their own troubles; and that the corruption of their Court, the ineptitude of their government, the apathy and passiveness of their people generally made them easy prey. No wise Japanese will deny that the Korean people have certain rights, and that it would be a good thing to win their good-will and friendship even at the cost and the sacrifice of some Japanese claims. No friend of Korea who is not absolutely blinded by prejudice will deny that Japan's territorial position does give her certain special claims for consideration in solving this Korean problem. There was much to excuse the policy of Japanese statesmen who took action to prevent a continental land so close to themselves from being a mere stepping-off ground for their foes.

One great danger to the world at large in the maintenance of the present condition of unrest in Korea is the possibilities which it affords to the Bolshevists in their aggressive Far Eastern campaign. The leaders of the Korean Independence Movement are by tradition and instinct strongly opposed to Bolshevism. Christian and non-Christian, they are mostly of a scholarly, somewhat conservative type; men who, while they have adopted Western ideals, are Westernized in the Conservative rather than the Radical sense, clinging to old ideas and religion; men of good family, representing property rights. But if this Independence Movement attains no success on its present lines, there is an undoubted danger that other men will make an alliance with the Russian Soviets, which are eager to help them. At the time when this article is being written the Foreign Department of the Soviet in Moscow regards Japan as its enemy. It can maintain, if it wishes, a long, harassing, exhausting war in Eastern Siberia which may prove a real bleeding to death of Japan. The greater the Japanese victories on the field—no one who knows the Japanese armies as I do doubts that they will be considerable—the greater the final dangers for Japan. The further Japan is lured into Central Asia, the harder it will be to maintain her hold. Under such a contingency it would add greatly to the risks Japan was running to have at the base of her line of communications a country of seventeen million people hating her with a virulent hatred and looking for opportunity to damage her. It is to Japan's interests to avoid this. The attempt to crush Korea by military force has failed to do anything but produce greater unrest. The attempt at semi-conciliation has been an equal failure. For Japan completely to reverse her settled plan, to transform her annexation into a protectorate and to restore real self-government to the Korean people, would do more to allay the uneasiness of the West about recent developments in the Far East, to regain the waning confidence of the white races, and to restore peace to Asia than any other step.

The problem of the relation of the two countries cannot be

grasped except in its historic sequence. The dominating factors have been twofold : (1) the Imperial ambitions of the Japanese people, and (2) the excessive pacifism of the Korean.

Japan for centuries has seen China as her great prize. The Japanese people were wounded in their most sensitive parts by the arrogance and contempt of the old Manchu Court towards them. China was a great nation, Japan little. Chinese contempt epitomized itself in the scornful name the Chinese spat out at their neighbours. Japan wanted vengeance. The conquest of China was only possible through the territory of Korea, and Japan could not dominate her great neighbour until she had first overrun Korea.

This is the secret of Hideyoshi's great invasion at the close of the sixteenth century. Korea was to be the way through which the Japanese armies were to march to Peking. This was the explanation of the Chino-Japanese War a quarter of a century ago, begun by a quarrel over Korea, deliberately planned by Japanese statesmen for that purpose. Japan's foremost aim since she took over virtual control of Korea in 1904 has been to make the land a great highway through which troops and munitions can be thrown into Central Asia. The fine railway through Korea and through the mountains of Manchuria to Mukden, the magnificent roads that have been built and the harbours that have been developed have all been planned with that central aim in view.

Now, if Japanese statesmanship still hugs this ambition, it will be idle to expect any great concessions for Korea. If Japan, as many claim, is still resolved to dominate China, to rule her people as we in the past ruled India, and to secure a virtual monopoly of most of her natural resources, then she cannot afford to abandon any fragment of Korean power. She must, until the conquest of China is complete, remain in absolute dominating military possession of the land.

If, on the other hand, more enlightened views are prevailing in Japan, if her statesmen are coming to see that they will secure greater glory for their Empire and greater safety for the world by friendly co-operation with an independent China, then there is hope.

The attempt of Japan to govern Korea on Crown colony methods has failed not in a material but in a moral sense. Materially the Japanese can show certain great gains—in means of communication, sanitation, arboriculture, in increased crops, the rise of fresh industries and the multiplication of schools. It may be claimed that many of these improvements have been carried out in such a way that their main material benefit has been reaped by Japanese and not by Koreans, and that in their development much hardship has been inflicted on Koreans themselves.

The real trouble is that the Japanese attempt to rule by a policy of material advancement, ignoring the traditions, the rights, the dignity and the national instincts of the people they have annexed. They started out by despising the Koreans, a feeling that displayed itself from the highest officials down to the poorest coolie from Tokyo who landed at Fusan. They did not attempt to win their good-will. Their attitude was that of the stern teacher towards a fractious and incorrigible child.

Had the Japanese looked deeper they might have seen that, despite surface corruption and general apathy, the Koreans had certain strong characteristics which were likely to prevent them from being easily assimilated or absorbed. They are a singularly homogeneous people, with a distinct national tradition which runs throughout all classes from Fusan to the Yalu. They have mighty traditions behind them, traditions of ancient days of which other lands know little. Their apathy was largely the result of bad government and of centuries of isolation. Their troops who fought the Americans and the French in the middle of the last century showed that they do not lack courage. The developments of Western knowledge in cities like Pyen-yang before the Japanese took possession of the land revealed how susceptible the people are to Western influence. The way in which group after group of younger men rose up within a few years against the old corrupt Government proved too that patriotism was not dead.

It would have been easy for Japan to enlist on her

side the progressive elements, to respect the national rights of the people, and to act as their friendly guide and protector. Had she done so, she would have secured the enthusiastic support of the very Koreans who are now her most dangerous opponents. She would have secured, too, the sympathetic support of the Western world which now looks on her Korean experiment so doubtfully.

Unfortunately Japan took the opposite course. The policy of annexation and assimilation ruthlessly carried out re-created Korea, but not in the way Japan intended. It gave fresh life to ancient patriotism and kindled it into a fierce passion against Japan. I have no desire to dwell at this point on the harshness of the military régime which found its culmination under the rule of Count Hasegawa, and produced the uprising of 1919. The Conspiracy Case, the police oppression, the elimination of every form of liberty produced definite results. The Koreans were put through the furnace, and came out a new people.

When the story of the uprising of 1919 and how it was suppressed became known, the Japanese Government first hesitated, then tried more oppressive measures, but finally recognized to some extent its mistake, recalled Count Hasegawa, and promised reforms.

There have been three outstanding men in the new administration—Admiral Baron Saito, the Governor-General; Dr. Midzuno, the Administrator-General; and Mr. Akaike, the Chief of Police. Baron Saito is a man of a wholly different stamp from his predecessor, Hasegawa; he is a sailor, of humane instincts, sincerely desiring, so far as can be judged, the pacification of the country. His benevolent purposes have been well backed up by Dr. Midzuno, the Administrator-General. Everyone who knows these men speaks well of them. Mr. Akaike is a more doubtful element, from the point of view of the pacification of the country. Yet even the administration of Admiral Saito has been marked by great abuses, by much suffering and by great unrest. There are several reasons for this. The first is that the Korean people

having been awakened to the desire for liberty, are not going to be satisfied by improvements of administrative machinery. Mr. Cynn, one of the ablest and most temperate of Korean publicists, emphasizes this point: "The Korean desires to be recognized as *man*, and a mouthful of rice more or less, or a copper or two more or less does not weigh much with him. 'What does a man profit if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul.'"

Next, the new Japanese administration has been hampered by the fact that it is still dominated, as the old was, by the idea of assimilating the Koreans, making them into a kind of lesser Japanese. This is the foundation error of Japanese Imperial policy, and so long as it persists, conciliation is virtually impossible. The third cause of failure has been the fact that while the heads of the Japanese organization are changed, the vast administrative machine remains very much the same. The old gendarmerie now call themselves Civil Police. The old official methods in rural parts, the old abuses, have a way of surviving. The stories that reached me of tortures in the Korean prisons during the winter of 1919-20 were as terrible as any that I had heard before. No one supposes that Admiral Saito and Dr. Midzuno do not hate these things, and desire their end as heartily as any of us. But they go on. The Japanese method of endless interference with minor details in the life of the individual, of excessive bureaucracy, of super-policeism, bears hardly enough upon the Japanese, accustomed to it from infancy. To an alien people it is intolerable.

And so during the summer of 1920 we have seen profound unrest throughout the peninsula. The Militarist Party in Japan say that the Saito policy is a failure; that he has gone too far in conciliation, and that severity should be restored. If the Saito policy is a failure, it is not because he has gone too far to reconcile the people, but because the machinery at command prevents Admiral Saito from doing all that should be done.

What is the real remedy? Let Japan leave the Korean

people to conduct their own internal affairs. She might reasonably, from her point of view, demand securities against the alienation of Korean land to any foreign Power or the establishment of authority by any foreign Power in Korea. Let her call a real assembly of the Korean people, and give a definite time during which the process of restoring national government will be completed. Let her do the thing generously, taking a fair return for what she has spent, protecting fairly the interest of her nationals settled in Korea, and obtaining a pledge against special tariff disabilities.

In other words, let Japan do for Korea what America has done for Cuba, and what England is preparing to do for Egypt. Let her secure the support of the younger progressive element in the land. By such a course she would do more to wipe out the hateful memories of the past sixteen years than in any other way. She would have not a dependency whose people regard her with hatred, but a neighbour proud to be associated with her. Her men of affairs would of necessity play a great part in Korean life because the Korean Government itself would, during the next generation at least, appeal to their more experienced Ally for help, for advisers and for co-operation in their development. Japan by such an action would lose nothing except a nominal sovereignty over a revolting people; she would turn rebels into allies and prove to the world the baselessness of the fabric on which the fears of the West concerning her Imperial ambitions had been founded.

THE SURGE OF LIFE

THE FOLLOWING IS BASED ON A LECTURE DELIVERED

BY SIR JAGADIS CHANDRA BOSE, C.I.E., C.S.I.

(At the India Office on November 18, 1920)

THE multifarious complexity of life has been one of the baffling problems in science. Inorganic matter remains practically unchanged day after day ; but the living organism is in a state of incessant change under the stimulus of the environment. Not only does the present modify, but there is also a subtle impress of the memory of the past. How, then, are we to get an insight into the mysterious workings of life? The problem becomes greatly simplified if it could be proved that the physiological machinery of all life, including plant and animal, is one. This is the quest which I have been pursuing for the last twenty years, leading to the establishment of fundamental unity of life reactions in the vegetable and the animal—seen in the possession of common characteristics of nervous impulse ; in the periodic insensibility in both, corresponding to what might be called sleep ; as seen in the death-spasm which takes place in the plant as in the animal. This unity is further exhibited in that spontaneous pulsation which in the animal is the heart-beat ; it appears in the similar effects of stimulants, of anæsthetics, and of poisons in vegetable and animal tissues. The establishment of this generalization would mean a great advance in the science of physiology, of medicine, of practical agriculture, and even of psychology.

ARTIFICIAL ORGANS OF PERCEPTION

The success of the investigation has been due to certain inventions which brought into the realm of the visible what had hitherto been invisible. The microscope had created a

revolution in biological science by enabling us to see extremely minute objects ; but even the magnifying power of the microscope is limited. The lecturer's crescograph produces a magnification which is ten thousand times greater than that produced by the highest power of the microscope.

For the instant detection and movement of growth and its changes, I have been able to perfect my crescograph, whose magnifying power has been within a short time raised from 1 million to 50 million times. Under a similar magnification of speed a snail would race round the earth 200 times during the course of twenty-four hours. It might be thought that an apparatus of such inconceivably high magnification would be upset by the slightest tremor in a busy city. By means of special shock-absorbing devices, I have been able to protect the instrument from the slightest external disturbance, as is seen from the perfect steadiness of the indicating spot of light. As an example of the extreme sensitiveness of the apparatus, I have here strips of metal attached to the instrument. A piece of brass 1 inch in length, when raised through one degree, would expand about $\frac{1}{80000}$ of an inch, which is equal to a single wave-length of light. If a candle is held at a distance of some 3 feet, there would be produced an extremely minute rise of temperature—less than a thousandth part of a degree ; that is to say, the expansion of the strip of metal would be less than one-thousandth part of the wave-length of light—an amount which would be regarded as beyond the power of detection. I now subject the apparatus to a severer test. As the Chairman of the meeting approaches the apparatus, his presence is detected by the indicating spot of light executing a rapid movement ; as he walks away, the spot is seen to come back to exact zero. A difference between the state of repose and activity in the individual is clearly seen in the different indications given by the apparatus.

THE EFFECT OF DRUGS

I am now able to show the effect of different drugs on the growth of plants. After noting the normal rate of growth

visualized by the rate of movement of the spot of light, I subject the plant to the action of dilute vapour of chloroform. This is seen to cause a very great stimulation of the rate of growth, the spot of light rushing across the scale ten times quicker than the normal rate.

I have shown elsewhere how remarkably similar is the action of drugs on plants and on human beings. I have shown how the action of a poison could be counteracted by another poison which acted as an antidote. In medical practice anomalies are frequently met with where the same drug induces diametrically opposite effects in different individuals; the cause of the anomaly lies in the fact (discovered from experiments carried out with plants) that the tonic level of different individuals is not the same, and the reaction of a given drug is profoundly modified by this condition. In illustration of this, I may describe the results of experiments with two batches of seedlings, originally similar. The tonicity of one batch had been artificially raised *above* par, and in the other *below* par. A dose of dilute poison was applied to both; the weaker specimens succumbed immediately, but the reaction of the vigorous specimens was quite different. The toxic agent not only failed in its illegitimate work, but actually exalted the growth of its intended victim!

DEATH-SPASM IN PLANTS

A time comes when, after an answer to a supreme shock, there is a sudden end of the plant's power to give any further response. This supreme shock is the shock of death. Even in this crisis there is no immediate change in the placid appearance of the plant. Drooping and withering are events that occur long after death itself. In man, at the critical moment, a spasm passes through the whole body, and similarly in the plant a contractile spasm takes place at the moment of death. In the script of the Death-recorder, the line, that up to this point was drawn, becomes suddenly reversed and then ends. This is the last answer of the plant.

STIMULATION BY MINUTE DOSE OF POISON

A poison kills, but when given in sufficiently minute doses acts as an extraordinarily efficient stimulus for accelerating growth. The difficulty is to determine the critical dose which must not be exceeded; the investigation may, however, be carried out with great certainty by means of the crescograph. The importance of this in practical agriculture is sufficiently obvious.

THE UNIVERSAL CALL

In this short lecture it has only been possible to give a brief and incomplete account of the work in progress undertaken in my Institute in India. We have but answered to the call which has been echoing through ages, the call which compels men to choose a life of unending struggle to extend the boundary of human knowledge; thus may human suffering be alleviated and earth rendered productive, so that two ears of corn might grow in the place of one which grew before. In this aspect science is a Divine gift, and knowledge is regarded in India as one with religion. And no injunction could be more imperative on us than the ancient edict of King Asoka inscribed on imperishable stone twenty-two centuries ago :

“ Go forth and intermingle and bring them to knowledge and righteousness. Go forth among the terrible and powerful, both here and in foreign countries—in kindred ties even of brotherhood and sisterhood—everywhere.”

EGYPT AND INDIA : A COMPARISON

BY STANLEY RICE (I.C.S., RETD.)

MANY years ago a Frenchman compared the English to a steel die, and nations with whom they were brought in contact to the wax on which it was stamped, because the English, wherever they may be, always remain English, whereas other nations tend to be absorbed in the countries to which they emigrate. Such a comparison may be testimony to the national virility of character ; when we are speaking of subject peoples, the suggestion of a want of sympathy is not so flattering. "Imagination," says Sir Valentine Chirol in his recent book on Egypt, "is not the quality usually most conspicuous in Englishmen, and without it there can seldom be much tact or sympathy, which consists, after all, chiefly in seeing and making allowance for one's neighbour's point of view." We have certainly lacked imagination both in Egypt and India. We have borrowed nothing from either country ; we have expected them to borrow from us ; we have smiled indulgently, sometimes contemptuously, at what they consider dearer than life, because it seemed to us not to matter ; we have gone our own way, satisfied that that way must be the best, and now that we have succeeded in awakening a national consciousness we are surprised that those whom we rule do not take things for granted but resent dictation.

For it is to the new national consciousness that the present situation is due. We did not believe in it because we had no imagination. We argued that India never was, and never could be, a nation because of her castes, creeds, and languages ; Egypt we knew had been a nation in the past, and so far as homogeneity of population went, had the making of nationality ; but we thought, if we ever thought at all, that

centuries of subjection had crushed all national spirit out of her. And so, starting from these comfortable premises, and, perhaps, deluded by the exaggerated, somewhat fantastic Oriental type of the movement, we reasoned that Nationalism in both countries was nothing more than the heated rhetoric of a small talkative minority, whose claim to represent the people was derived from nobody, and whose theories fell on indifferent and even unwilling ears. We forgot, perhaps in too egotistic a mood, that, in the words of Sir V. Chirol, "benefits conferred by another nation seldom elicit any deep or abiding gratitude," and we plumed ourselves upon the material prosperity and the peace and order which we had conferred upon these Eastern peoples. More important still, we forgot that the educated classes are the product of our own system, and that the Nationalism which has now been born is the inevitable result of our own teaching. In both cases the birth was loudly proclaimed when as yet the infant was scarcely conceived in the womb, and no doubt it was this vociferation which led us to think that what was not visible was a mere figment of the imagination. In Egypt the rising of Arabi in 1880 had for its origin the revolt of native-born officers against the preference given to their foreign, that is to say, Turkish, comrades. In India the exhortations of Tilak and others was followed in 1897 by an orgy of anarchical crime, which, though perhaps not intended by the leaders, gave at least the impression of being inspired by them. The Egyptian rising was put down by main force at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir; the Indian conflagration smouldered on, in spite of the failure of Swadeshism and the boycott, until it apparently died out for want of fuel. But the spirit was there; Arabi the Egyptian and Tilak may claim to be the fathers of the Nationalism of to-day.

Differences there are, of course, between the conditions of the two countries; it is unwise to push analogies too far. Unlike India, Egypt has never been a part of the British Empire: the position of Britain there has all along been anomalous. Forced by the misrule of Ismail into setting the

Egyptian house in order, France and England acted as controlling authorities under the nominal sovereignty of the Khedive, and the uprising of Arabi was directed, not against either Western power, but against Turkey. With the final withdrawal of France in 1904 England had a free hand; but it became more and more clear that the occupation would be prolonged indefinitely. The climax came with the Great War and the proclamation of a Protectorate. Egypt has thus a clearer case than India. She can argue, and unanswerably, that she never intended a mere exchange of masters when, *with the help of the British, she cast off her dependence on Turkey*; that she is a sovereign State which the British in explicit terms have promised not to annex; and hence the fear that the change from a veiled to an open Protectorate is only a step towards annexation. India, on the other hand, bases her claim not on matters of fact but of opinion. She has been promised self-government, and she is confident that she is now capable of it. Her national pride is hurt by the differentiation made between herself and the Colonies. But the two countries are like two streams which, starting from different sources, ultimately unite in the broad flood of National Consciousness, and it is this rather than the tributary streams of past history which gives strength to the present demands.

The second great difference is in the religious and racial constitution of the countries. India is, of course, mainly composed of Hindus and Mussulmans, and speaks so many languages that English is the only real lingua franca in the country. Egypt, on the other hand, is wholly Mussulman and wholly Arabic. I do not overlook the existence of minor sects—of Jains and Parsees and Christians in the one, and of Copts and the heterogeneous population of Alexandria in the other: they do not affect the main argument. But if the homogeneity of her population is an Egyptian asset, the influence of her preponderating religion gives India a corresponding advantage. Islam, ever since the downfall of the Moorish power in Spain, has been conspicuously deficient not

only in the art of government, but in general intellectual pursuits. The three principal Mussulman powers—the Turkish Empire, Persia, and Egypt—have long been bywords of misgovernment, and Sir Valentine Chirol has graphically described the numbing effect of an education which, being based on an infallible and unchangeable tradition, and recognizing other forms of learning only in a secondary, if not negligible, degree, provide no scope for the intellectual faculties. The effect is very marked in India, where, according to the experience of everyone, the Hindu is unquestionably the brain of the country, and whose most renowned sons have invariably been Hindus.

The capitulations, again, have greatly hampered Egypt in the development of self-governing institutions. "Originally intended to safeguard the collective interests of the foreign communities against the power of Oriental despots," they have been used, not too scrupulously, to obstruct even necessary legislation. A sovereign power which is under obligation not to tax an important section of the people without the consent of other powers, to abrogate its functions of civil justice partly, and of criminal justice wholly, to foreigners in all cases in which those foreigners are concerned, and to connive, as it were, at disorder by restraining its police from entering foreign houses in search of offenders, must suffer detraction in efficiency as well as in dignity. Compared with these limitations upon authority the much-advertised differentiation of Europeans in the Indian Arms Act of 1878, and the minor privileges which they enjoy under the Criminal Procedure Code, are mere trifles, and, being subject to the consent of no foreign power, they can be abrogated at will by the Supreme Government. Amongst other minor differences may be mentioned the use of the French language in Egypt and the length of our occupation. Since English is universally recognized in India it is natural that the great majority of Indians who cross the seas should go to England, where they live in an English atmosphere and become familiar with English institutions. The Egyptian who has learned

French naturally turns to Paris when he sets out on his travels, and on his return to his own country he finds institutions and ideas which are foreign to his European experience. Moreover, the 170 years of our unquestioned supremacy in India are a very different thing from the 40 years of our ambiguous position in Egypt, and if we can point to monumental improvements in both countries, improvements which, like the Assuan Dam and the great Indian irrigation systems, have directly benefited the peasantry, we can hardly expect the Egyptians to have assimilated the lessons of Western administration in so short a time and under such conditions.

Yet, in spite of these differences, the course of events has followed lines extraordinarily alike. The Western system of education was introduced into both countries because, in our unimaginative way, we assumed that "sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander," and that like results would proceed from like causes. But, says Chirol: "The moral and intellectual regeneration of a people is not a task in which it is possible for any man or group to command success—least of all if they are aliens and of a different religion and civilization." India may perhaps justly repudiate the word "regeneration," and in her case we may substitute "direction," but it remains true that such a task "provokes at once the resistance of incalculable forces of ancient traditions and prejudices . . . of a mentality and psychology which often escapes analysis."

By subordinating religion in obedience to our otherwise laudable doctrine of neutrality we made atheists of some and antagonized others. Owing partly to the want of money and partly to the want of suitable employment, the educated classes have drifted in both countries into Government service and the Bar, and the mouths of Government servants being closed, the lawyers, diverted from the ancient practice of philosophical speculation, turned their attention to politics. Given this training what else could they do?

And after the lawyers the students. It is unthinkable to us that a lad at Eton or Rugby should busy himself with politics rather than with cricket or football, and so we have

forgotten the extraordinary precocity of Oriental youths, who are married at sixteen and fathers at eighteen, and the extraordinary homage which we ourselves pay to athletic games. The boy, therefore, who would seem to us a prig to be birched out of his priggishness, is by them exalted into a national hero, a kind of young Apollo rejoicing in his youth, to be converted later, if retribution should chance to overtake him, into a national martyr. Like the lawyers, whose mentality they shared, and in whose occupation many of them no doubt proposed to find a living, they brooded upon the theories of political writers, and eagerly devoured the lives of Mazzini and other patriots, until they persuaded themselves that they too were made of the same stuff and summoned to the same high task.

Hand in hand with lawyers and students went the Press. Sir Valentine Chirol's description of the Egyptian newspapers might have been written of India so close is the resemblance. "The newspapers," he says, "caught the unfortunate habit of shrieking at the top of their voice, and it evidently was to the taste of their readers ! . . . One of the worst tendencies they developed was to show gross intolerance and unfairness to all those who differed from them, and . . . on public questions were apt to degenerate into personal attacks. . . . Practical questions, or those that postulated close reasoning, found little favour with either writers or readers. They preferred rhetorical generalities or vehement political lucubrations with high-sounding catchwords."

National consciousness was then the root cause ; the watchword of the new parties was Freedom. It was trumpeted forth in varying tones, by Moderates in the measured cadences of a Beethoven symphony, by Extremists in the passionate fortissimo of a Wagner climax. We were not altogether to blame for lack of foresight. Our vision was obscured by the apparent apathy of the masses, though even there the wiser among us could perceive the leaven working amongst the more educated of them—amongst the schoolmasters, the village accountants, the village headmen. Our ears were

deafened by the shouts from the Press and from the platform that the Nation was born, when in India there was plainly no national cohesion and in Egypt no national intelligence. And our reason was shocked and disgusted by the violent overstatement of the Nationalist case, by the unreason of the shrieking invective in the Press of both countries, which seemed to us the mere vapourings of irresponsibility. In the same spirit which, with less excuse, insists on Egyptian schoolboys wearing European clothes and on Indian schoolboys sitting on chairs and benches for the only time in their lives, we established free speech and the freedom of the Press, and when any attempt was made to curb unbridled licence we were treated to the "Areopagitica" and to Mill on Liberty.

The Age of Consent Act gave Indian Nationalism its first impetus; the proclamation of the Protectorate brought matters to a head in Egypt. In the earlier case, sporadic murder and anarchist crime were supplemented by the passive resistance of the boycott. In more recent years the specific grievance was the Rowlatt Act. In Egypt the proclamation of the Protectorate was followed by a note on Constitutional Reform, which, however well intentioned, only managed to inflame Nationalist sentiment. We had, in fact, in all our later dealings in the East "ignored the existence of the national sentiment which the war and the democratic ideals of the war had stimulated." The arrest of Zaghlul Pasha and his companions in March, 1919, was immediately followed by a general uprising, which resulted in rioting, bloodshed, and arson. Trains were looted, railways torn up, Englishmen murdered, and public buildings burnt, until the troops had to be requisitioned to quell the disorder by armed force. Almost at the same moment the arrest of Mr. Gandhi in India produced similar outrages, which culminated in the notorious and deplorable affair of Amritsar. Luckily for Egypt no such dramatic event was destined to mark a fresh starting-point for agitation, for, whatever be the view of General Dyer's action, almost any kind of repression such as the situation called for would have been resented.

The release of Zaghlul Pasha and of Mr. Gandhi had the effect of putting an end to disorder ; but in Egypt, where as yet there was no sign of any redress of grievances, the leaders resorted to passive resistance : lawyers left the Courts ; schoolboys stopped away from school ; scavengers, postmen, tramway-conductors were cajoled or coerced into a refusal to work. Finally, the Government servants themselves went on strike, and declined to return except on terms which they insolently dictated. A stiff proclamation by General Allenby broke the back of their resistance, and when the lawyers followed suit the other malcontents gave in. In India, where, with the Reform Act in being, the whole destiny of the country might be imperilled, passive resistance did not follow so hard upon the heels of active disorder, but under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi—whose creed is to obtain what he considers justice without regard to the consequences—we are now threatened with a movement corresponding in all essential particulars with the Egyptian model.

Such is the situation which we have brought about by our policy. We could not read the signs of the times. We were lacking in sympathetic vision, and the races drifted apart, partly for want of our foresight and partly because the hand of friendship which we so often held out was rejected with scorn and abuse. That we have meant well there is no doubt ; that we have accomplished much is acknowledged, and yet to-day we are thoroughly unpopular. This aloofness is set down to several causes, generally superficial—the facility of travel, the burden of office work, the increase of British officials, and, more than all, the impossibility of intimate social intercourse so long as the women are unapproachable. But the real cause of the estrangement, in spite of many warm friendships, is the claim of equality, and even of superiority too arrogantly asserted, and a sensibility too easily offended. In the old days the Indian official on his horse or in his palauquin, the Egyptian official on his donkey or his horse, distributed a benevolent patronage which was treated on both sides as a matter of course. To-day it is difficult—at any rate, to some

—to be barely civil to a visitor who is known to share the violent hostility of the Press. Suspicion breeds coolness, and coolness further vituperation, and so the whole vicious circle goes its round.

We have proclaimed in season and out of season the honesty of our intentions ; we have pointed to the many benefits we have conferred—to the great improvement in agriculture and the uplifting of the fellahin in Egypt, to the peace and order, the irrigation and the railways, the incorruptible Courts of Justice in India. And we are surprised that the benign British rule, to borrow the favourite Indian catchword, has suddenly become intensely unpopular ; in spite of all we have failed to grasp that most elusive of things, the spirit of the people. Because of that our best motives are misinterpreted and our considered measures have been flouted. We argued that like causes must produce like effects, but did not realize that the foundations on which we were building must also be similar. And so, having under the observation of Europe built up our structures in India and in Egypt on identical lines, we have produced startlingly identical results, but not those that were intended.

The past is gone ; we cannot now undo our work if we wished to, but we may at least learn the lesson for the future, that Oriental countries are not as we are, that their psychology and their history are worth studying as a practical guide to administration, and so the experience of the one country may help us to avoid blunders in the others.

THE CASE FOR DYARCHY IN BURMA

By H. E. A. COTTON

THE problem of Burma's political evolution was expressly set aside for separate and future consideration by the joint report of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford upon constitutional reform in India. But the Committee of both Houses, which examined the Government of India Bill in detail, while agreeing to the temporary exclusion of Burma, did "not doubt that the Burmese have deserved and should receive a constitution analogous to that provided for their Indian fellow-subjects." Mr. Montagu was equally encouraging. On December 3, 1919, he resisted an amendment by Mr. Spoor which aimed at placing Burma in the same position as the other Indian provinces, but at the same time he said: "Burma is not India, but Burma must get an analogous grant of self-government, a similar grant of self-government, subject to differences in the local conditions of Burma."

Now, the essential principle upon which the Government of India Act is based is "dyarchy"—that is to say, certain specified subjects of administration are "reserved," and will continue under the control of the Governor and Executive Council, and all other subjects stand "transferred" to Ministers, who will be chosen from the elected members of the Legislative Council, and will be responsible to that body. "Responsibility," say the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, "is the savour of popular government, and that savour the present Councils totally lack. We are agreed that our first object must be to invest them with it." No scheme for Burma can therefore be regarded as "analogous" or "similar" to the Indian model which, while providing an elected majority in the Legislature, confers no sort of responsibility upon that majority.

That is precisely the defect which appears in the proposals put forward by Sir Reginald Craddock, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, and approved by the Government of India in a despatch published for information in April last. For the executive government the

despatch recommends, instead of dyarchy, a council of six, of whom three will be officials and three non-officials—one of the latter to be a European. All are nominees of the Governor, and are to work in double harness, the departments of administration being distributed among the various couples. When one member of a pair disagrees with the other, an appeal may be made to the Governor and the Council as a whole. As for the Legislature, it obtains, theoretically, an elected majority, but these are recruited by a system of indirect election, the Budget is placed beyond its control, and its functions are merely those of a debating society. In other words, a scheme is propounded which, in spite of the fact that the Morley-Minto Councils have admittedly failed as a progressive or transitional stage towards political development, reproduces the cardinal features of those Councils, and aggravates them by a large increase in the number of elected members.

These singular arrangements are justified upon the ground that no Burmans can be found who are fit to be Ministers. There is no substance in such an assumption, as will presently be shown. But even if it had, the Joint Parliamentary Committee have supplied the answer. "There is," they say, "no way of learning except by experience and the realization of responsibility." Responsibility is exactly what this scheme withholds; and its realization is possible only by use of the method of dyarchy. The idea of Sir Reginald Craddock and the Government of India is apparently to choose two Burmans, and train them so that they may be transformed into Ministers at some later date. But what will happen if, when that golden day arrives, the Legislative Council refuses to extend its confidence to them? Upon the showing of the Lieutenant-Governor and his friends, no other competent Burmans exist. As for the members of the Legislative Council under such conditions, they will have received a training in hostile criticism, and nothing more. From this impasse there is no escape but dyarchy. If any risk is involved, it must be taken, for training can only be given by the grant and acceptance of responsibility—that is to say, by the actual exercise of the duty of

choice and also of the duty of decision, in circumstances in which an account must be rendered of errors, not to official colleagues, but to the elected representatives of the people in the Legislature. Dyarchy is admittedly a half-way house, but it has been applied to the rest of British India, and the Burmese have every right to insist that they shall not be denied the new privileges which have been given without hesitation to the people of Orissa and Assam.

Sir Reginald Craddock had, it is true, already while he was Home Member of Council at Delhi, shown opposition to the reforms which have been embodied in the Government of India Act. But, strange to say, his public utterances as Lieutenant-Governor of Burma are quite at variance with the scheme which he has proposed. In the first place, he has made it plain that Burma is far more well-behaved than India. "There has been no extremist party of Young Burmese," he has said; "there has been no unbridled and defamatory Press; there have been, thank God! no signs of unrest among Burmese students, and not even the slightest suspicion of anarchy." And Sir Reginald has further declared: "Delay or niggardliness in the grant of reforms to Burma, as compared with India, may deeply wound the Burman's *amour-propre*, and even throw him into the hands of the agitator and revolutionary." Nor is it a fact that the Burmans are "politically backward." Let Sir Reginald explain why:

"It can be confidently affirmed that Burma is endowed with many advantages, notably in respect of conditions which favour development on democratic lines. Thus she is free from those religious dissensions which militate against the co-operation of men of different creeds. Toleration of the scruples of others is a ruling tenet of her religion. There is an entire absence of caste, and no marked cleavage of social distinction or occupation exists. The man of humble birth in Burma has always been able to rise as high as his ability or his education might permit. Burma undoubtedly offers a more prominent field for self-government than does India at this juncture."

Politically-minded Burmans have naturally accepted at its face value this flattering description of themselves by an

acknowledged expert. They have unanimously and emphatically rejected the scheme propounded in the despatch and demanded dyarchy.

There is nothing that will survive examination in the supposed impossibility of finding suitable Burmans for the offices of Minister and Executive Councillor. Exactly the same objections were heard when it was desired to appoint a Burman Judge to the Chief Court at Rangoon; but a Burman barrister was eventually discovered, and it is not disputed that Mr. Justice Maung Kin, the gentleman selected, has fully justified his nomination. Moreover Burman Deputy Commissioners have been placed in charge of several districts, and it is not alleged that they have failed to reach the required standard of administrative capacity. Provided that the attempt is genuinely and sincerely made, suitable Burmans can be, and will be found; and, in any case, no difficulty, should be experienced in securing men of the stamp and calibre of some of the Indians who have been appointed to high office in India itself. Finally, why ignore the fact that the Burman Executive Councillor and Minister will have the assistance of their official colleagues, and of a trained and presumably efficient Secretariat?

The controversy has now reached the final stage. Mr. Montagu announced in the House of Commons, on December 13, that, as there was a difference of opinion between the Secretary of State for India in Council and the Governments of India and Burma, it was not possible to exercise the notification powers under the Act. He has, however, undertaken to bring in a separate Bill for Burma next Session, and has once more stated that, despite all efforts to the contrary, no satisfactory constitution can be found which is not based upon similar lines to those granted to the Indian Provinces. It may be taken therefore that the principle of dyarchy will be applied; but the decision will rest with the new Standing Committee of both Houses, to whom the Bill will be referred, together with Sir Reginald Craddock's scheme.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN BOYS OF THE BETTER OR UPPER CLASS FAMILIES

BY FATHER T. VANDER SCHUEREN, S.J.

IT will be useful at the outset to set forth clearly the object and scope of this paper, together with its limitations. I do not mean to treat of education in general, but only of the education of such children as, by their birth and the position of their parents, are entitled to get the very best bringing up that can be supplied. I further limit myself to school education, embracing the years from the age of seven to the age of about seventeen. This corresponds to the education given in England in the Public Schools, and on the Continent in the College or *Athénée*. I mean to deal principally with the Indian boy and his education in the land of his birth. But a comparison with the education of the English boy belonging to the corresponding social class is likely to be useful, and a further comparison with the better-class Belgian boy and his education is likely to prove interesting.

The remarks set forth in this little study are based on a life experience in this special subject, as I have been connected with St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, for a period of thirty-two years.

Shane Leslie, an old Etonian, writes as follows in his book "The End of a Chapter": "It is bad taste at Eton to assume aught but a bored indifference to school work. Enthusiasm is reserved for games. To be too clever or intellectual is resented as un-English. About one boy in ten works his hardest and is nicknamed a 'sap,' since it is folly to be wise. Unless he is also athletic, he tends to become a social outcast. There is no modern side at Eton. Modern languages are a side-show. Science, irreverently called

'Stinks,' is taught rather like the accomplishment of drawing-room conjuring. The main studies are Latin and Greek ; boys are served with daily rations of Latin and Greek that are seldom absorbed with pleasure and profit. Every week claims a copy of Latin verses, which to the ordinary boy is a maddening exercise in Chinese puzzledom."

If this picture be not overdrawn, and is, fundamentally at least, descriptive of the conditions existing in English public schools, the difference between the Belgian College or *Athenée* and the English Public School is very great indeed. In one sense, however, they are alike : the studies are essentially classical and literary and there is practically no modern side.

In the Belgian College, as in the English Public School, the classical course extends over six years—viz., the four grammar classes, followed by poetry and rhetoric classes. This division seems to be much more marked in Belgium than in England : in the grammar classes it is all grammar and grammatical exercises ; it is a constant grinding process upon which I cannot help looking back with a certain amount of awe. In poetry and rhetoric grammar books, with their attendant lessons and exercises, are completely dispensed with ; every exercise is one of original composition, and the classroom studies are of a purely literary character. I look back upon those years as a time which it would be a pleasure to live over again. The field was a vast one, embracing the great masterpieces in the four languages—Latin, Greek, French, and Flemish or Dutch. We literally lived in literature of the very best kind, brought home to us in the most effective way. While the immediate effect could not but be a marked degree of literary taste and refined scholarship, these were of necessity accompanied by a breadth of view and mental development eminently fitting the boy leaving school for any kind of University work or further study.

Before going out to India I spent nearly three years in England, where I had occasion to get acquainted with the English Public School system and to study and discuss its merits. With regard to the studies themselves, the thorough-

ness of the Belgian system was so much more marked that the successful rhetorician was undoubtedly in a position of decided superiority, and had secured a lead of one year, or rather of two years, over the successful English Public School boy at the same stage of their education. I was not slow, however, to see and to concede that this was but one view of the education problem, and that the English Public School system had brought out and developed other qualities of no mean order and importance, which certainly seemed very much less directly and efficiently cultivated in Belgium. The spirit of initiative, self-reliance, resourcefulness and energy in the field of action, more especially of action in emergency, qualities which are characteristically English and have been the great factors in the building up of England's world power, seemed to be far better suited to the loose-flowing moulds of the English Public School than to the rigid grinding mill of the Belgian College.

It may seem as if this comparative study of two national European systems of school education has very little bearing on the theme I have undertaken to treat, and as if I were wandering away from my subject at the very start. Such, however, is not the case. Events are moving fast in India, and the time is at hand when that country's children will be called upon to take the lead in shaping the destinies of this great Indian Empire. India must in future look less to the West for her statesmen and rulers. The men who fifteen, twenty, or thirty years hence will be called upon to take a prominent part, if not the predominant part, in guiding to prosperity and happiness an empire of 400 million people will have a task of greater importance and consequent responsibility than the task of the greatest living statesmen of the present day. These men are the Indian boys of to-day, and these boys, here as everywhere else in the world, are, in the first place, the sons of those fathers who are at the present time the highest expression of the best kind of national citizenship, the nobility of birth, talent, and wealth. It is with the school education of these boys that this paper deals. This education

must be absolutely the best that can possibly be had. It will not do to ape even the best type of Western school, or to transplant, as it were bodily, some of the houses of Eton from the smiling landscapes of the Thames valley to the parched banks of the Hooghly. Study the English Public School and find out what it achieves and where it fails, study the Belgian and French College or *Athenée*, study even the German Gymnasium (*fus est et ab hoste doceri*), and see what they achieve and where they fail. Study all these, not in a purely academic way, but in the light of the special characteristics, the special needs, the natural qualities of mind and heart of the best class of Indian boys, who are entitled to the very best education that can possibly be had. One thing for which I am prepared to answer is that the class of Indian boys whom I have in mind will supply material of the very best stamp, and in no respect inferior to the material upon which the European educator works. Pick out what is best in the English Public School, combine with it what is most effective in the Belgian system, complete it with what must be special to India, and you will produce something very good and very high, but none too high and none too good for the better-class Indian boy. This may appear flattery on my part. It is not; it is a statement made from conviction and for which I assume full responsibility. This will be made clear if, after comparing schools with schools, I now proceed to compare scholars with scholars, and the qualities and characteristics of the Indian boy with those of his Western schoolmates.

These characteristics differ greatly, and it would be unwise and courting failure to build up a system of education in which this difference is not taken into account, however perfect this system might appear as an abstract ideal.

First with regard to the mind. The Indian mind develops sooner than the European mind. I consider that the Indian boy at the age of ten, twelve, or fourteen is fully a year ahead of the English or Belgian boy with regard to mental development, quickness of perception and self-possession, and it would probably be nearer the mark to say that he is two years

ahead. There is, of course, an obvious advantage in this, but there is also a certain danger. It will not do at this stage to overload a young mind which seems capable of bearing so much and is generally eager to bear much, and to force, as it were, to ripeness a mind which is naturally ripening so rapidly. The end would be precocious maturity without full bloom, resulting in subsequent stunted growth and relative sterility. It has been stated that if the age limit for the Civil Service examination were fixed at twenty, the English candidate would have little chance against the Indian candidate; that with the age limit at twenty-two or twenty-three their chances become equal; while if the limit be raised further, the tables would be completely turned. If this be true, the fault lies at the door of the masters who have failed to control the growth of the plant entrusted to their care. A good twenty-five years ago I had in my class a Bengali boy who passed the Entrance or then Matriculation Examination at the age of fourteen, and secured 159 out of a maximum of 160 marks in the three branches of mathematics. I saw this abnormal development along one line at that age with no little alarm. I did all I could to check it, but unfortunately, as the boy was a day-scholar, I could not effectively control his home-work, and my warnings to him and to his parents went unheeded. He passed out of my hands and continued his studies, graduating at eighteen. At a great sacrifice to themselves, and against my advice, the parents then sent him to England. I knew he would achieve nothing further: the sap had already run out and staleness had set in. He returned a disappointed man, but happily not a ruined man, and he has been doing and is still doing good work in a humbler sphere. This is a striking instance, but by no means the only one. The Indian boy up to the age of seventeen or eighteen requires especially careful handling, and for him I consider an outside examination at too early an age a danger from which serious harm may result.

If we now take the mind itself—i.e., its intimate natural constitution as manifesting itself in the special nature of the mental operations, the special lines along which these opera-

tions naturally move, the varying degrees of mental acumen, and the nature of the objects upon which this acumen is directed by instinctive preference, we shall find a great difference between the English, the Belgian, and the Indian school-boy. The distinctive characteristic of the English boy's mind seems to be its directness ; he goes straight for the object and tackles it as it stands before his mental vision. He has a great respect for concrete fact, and he expresses himself best in action ; it is upon the field of action that he shines, that he is at his best. These are fine qualities, qualities which, as we know, make for success in life, for determined enterprise, for great achievement. The Belgian boy seems to have this quality of directness in a lesser degree, but his mind seems to be more inquisitive, less easily satisfied, more critical, more inclined to turn round the object presented to his mental vision to see what lies around it and lies at the back of it, and to exhaust the possibilities it may present for mental observation and disquisition. In a word, the mind is more theoretical, its operations are more purely intellectual, but it is less practical.

The Indian boy's mind, while being, perhaps, in a minor, but still in a fair, degree similar to the Belgian boy's mind, is nearly the antithesis of the English boy's mind. He has a great reverence for abstract truth, and the field of concrete fact only appeals to him as a stepping-stone to the field of abstract thought. His mind is highly imaginative and delights in subtleties. He is quite at home in mental speculations which are nearly inaccessible to his Western schoolmates.

It will, I dare say, be readily admitted that the education imparted to the young mind must be in the main in keeping with the nature of that mind. The mentalities are different, hence the system of education must be different. The British system of education suits the English boy, the Belgian system the Belgian boy, and a system of education must be evolved in India to suit the Indian boy. Take what is best and most effective in the Western systems, and in as much as they are adaptable adapt them to the East ; but these can only be accessories ; the essential and more substantial parts of the

Indian system must be Indian, and suited by their nature to the nature of the Indian mind. To-day Indian boys are growing up, worshipping this great Motherland of theirs. These children of the soil will live their lives in this great land of their birth, and the India of fifteen, twenty, thirty years hence will in the main be what the Indian boys of to-day will make it. As time moves on, a constantly and steadily increasing measure of the prosperity and welfare of the Motherland must depend on the responsible share of her own children in working out her destinies. The closer the understanding between the governing and the governed, the better the government. The highest degree of this understanding will be obtained in India, not by merely grafting upon the Indian mind foreign methods of thought necessarily uncongenial and artificial, but by giving the fullest development to the indigenous plant of the soil. This must be borne in mind and adhered to in the planning of the Indian school system, mapping out the curriculum of studies, and defining the lines along which these are to be pursued. At the same time the lessons taught by the West must not be neglected. In this connection, however, it must be noted that education is imparted not only in the classroom. Much of the directness and precision, the grit and courage, the resourcefulness, the self-control, the tolerance, the magnanimity, which have built up the great British world-empire has been developed on the school playground. The value and importance of this playground education, so well understood in England, has become of late better realized outside England.

I was surprised—agreeably surprised, I may say—when I was in Belgium in the spring and summer of 1914 to see the general interest, or rather excitement, taken in the competition for the "Mercier Cup." The great Belgian Cardinal, who has since won the world's admiration and esteem by his noble and unflinching patriotism, and who was then known as a great educationist, had presented a challenge cup for inter-collegiate association football, and day after day the Belgian press contained full accounts of the progress of the

competition. In my school-days in Belgium football—or, indeed, any game played scientifically under a definite code of rules—was unknown, and the idea of school meeting school in a competition for a challenge trophy was undreamt of. The Indian boy, more than the Belgian boy, and very much more than the English boy, requires all the education the school playground can impart to him. By nature he is inclined to soar above the concrete and live in the higher regions of the abstract. On the playground the abstract has no room; it is all concrete and solid fact and, as it were, a dead level. I cannot conceive an Indian public school answering in any way to my ideal without the absolutely essential educational factor of organized playground training. In England school games might nearly be left to themselves; in India they must be organized, and the organization must be thorough and systematic. There must be a games master—a special master if need be, with real authority and influence over the boys, and realizing the importance of his educational duties.

The Indian boy, in my experience, is clever, prematurely clever, with a degree of self-possession far ahead of his age. He has a wonderful facility for mathematics, both pure and applied. In England the teaching of mathematics in the schools is essentially practical, in Belgium it is essentially theoretical; algebra is taught like geometry: it is all theories and theorems, with a discussion of the proofs with which they are established. It is a more purely intellectual study. The Indian boy excels in both. In the Entrance Classes which I taught in St. Xavier's I had generally about thirty to forty boys, sometimes more. Of these, about ten or twelve would be Indian boys, the rest being European or Anglo-Indian. In a competition in mathematics all the Indian boys would generally be in the first half of the class, while among the ten first boys in the class would be found no less than five or six or even more Indian boys. The Indian boy likes mathematics, and he brightens up when the hour comes that is devoted to this branch in the school curriculum. I have mentioned the case of the youngster (he was a mere little brat at the

time) who scored 159 out of 160 marks in mathematics at the Entrance Examination. He has since been eclipsed by other Indian boys, not, perhaps, in the percentage of marks scored, but certainly in the standard of knowledge reached. When the son of Mr. A. A. Ghaznavi, then a member of the Imperial Council, was in my Senior Cambridge Class some years ago, he could quite easily have taught mathematics in any Intermediate Science Class of the Calcutta University, and probably in the B.Sc. class as well. I do like a boy, even young, with a sound knowledge of mathematics, but I do not like a mathematical phenomenon. I have pointed out the danger: he requires very careful watching and guidance.

The Indian boy has, in my opinion, a marked facility for learning languages. I am perfectly satisfied that if the Indian boy were to be put through the grinding-mill of a Belgian College, as I have described it, he would hold his own with the best of his schoolmates. He would emerge from the Rhetoric Class with a knowledge of the classics and classic literature implying that the very best that can possibly be done in the line of mental development has been done with full success in his regard. Classical studies in the Western sense of the word cannot be said to exist in India. The little there is is limited, as a rule, to an imperfect grammatical study of Latin; yet this little has been sufficient to tell me what the Indian boy could achieve if given the opportunity and a proper field for his talent. I could give striking instances in this respect. The late Harinath De joined St. Xavier's in the Preparatory Entrance Class labouring under the disadvantage of knowing nothing of Latin, which his class companions had already studied for four years. Before the end of the year he was the best boy of his class in Latin, and the following year, instead of submitting along with the other boys exercises in Latin translation, he asked as a favour, readily granted of course, to be allowed to submit original compositions in Latin in their stead. I was quite prepared to receive the news a few years later that he had been awarded the Gold Medal for Latin verse composition at Oxford University. Girendra Nath Basu, son

of the Honourable Bhupendra Nath Basu, joined St. Xavier's in the Entrance Class which I was teaching at that time. He had learnt no Latin so far, but was keen on learning it, although it meant preparing in one year an examination in that language which the other boys had already prepared for five years. Before the end of the year he was quite on a level with the best in the class, and he had no difficulty in securing first division marks in the Examination. In this connection I cannot help thinking with regret of opportunities lost, and of what could have been achieved by these and so many other Indian boys whom I have known. I am a very strong believer in the value of a thorough classical education as absolutely the soundest for the most perfect development of all that is best in the mind. Shane Leslie may write of Eton that the boys are served with daily rations of Latin and Greek that are seldom absorbed with pleasure or profit. They are absorbed with profit by the Belgian boy, and if served out to the Indian boy they would be absorbed with pleasure as well as with profit, and they are rations of absolutely the best food that can be administered to the mind.

In St. Xavier's the Indian schoolboy mixes on terms of the most perfect equality with his European and Anglo-Indian schoolmates. In the present stage of educational development I see many advantages in this. The sole medium of instruction is English, and in the classroom and out of it the only language spoken is English. The Indian boy, thrown into the midst of other boys who know no other language, soon acquires a familiarity with it which, with his natural facility and talent, rapidly removes whatever disability or disadvantage he may have at first experienced. It is a remarkable fact, in my own experience, that in every class I have taught in St. Xavier's some of the best English writers, with a knowledge of the language and a talent for literature far above the average, were Indian boys. The Tagore Gold Medal for English Composition, the most coveted of all the school prizes, has been carried off by Indian boys with a frequency not warranted by their numbers. There is in St. Xavier's a

Literary Society for the boys of the two upper classes of the school department. It has been in existence for thirty-five years. The upper class master is its president, while the vice-president, secretary, and committee are elected by the boys themselves. In my experience as president I have never had a committee to which one or more Indian boys had not been elected by their class companions, while on several occasions Indian boys received a more signal proof of the esteem in which they were held by their English companions by being elected to the post of secretary or vice-president.

It was always a labour of love to me, and a thing in which I took special delight to find out hidden or budding literary talent among the boys and to develop this talent along the lines which I saw to be best suited for such development. Some ten or twelve years ago I had in my class a young Indian boy named Syed Hosein. I saw he had a great taste for reading, and, as I detected in him an exceptional power of assimilation, I encouraged him to read and read much, and directed him in the choice of books. He soon acquired a vast amount of general knowledge and developed a remarkable facility in writing. He was, of course, the shining light of the Literary Society of the year. In season and out of season, I kept on repeating to him : " Journalism, my boy, is your line. Keep this before you and stick to it ; you will one day rise high in the profession." He was then about sixteen or seventeen years of age, and after passing the Entrance Examination he passed out of my hands and I lost sight of him. The next time I met him was in London at the end of 1914. He was then on the staff of one of the great London dailies—the *Standard*, I believe it was. The first question he put me was about the St. Xavier's Literary Society, and then he told me that with the help of Mr. Dip Naraian Singh, another of my old Indian students, who was at one time a member of the Bengal Council, he had established in London a Literary Society for the Indian students in residence there. It was modelled after the pattern of the St. Xavier's Society and run on the same lines. Syed Hosein has since returned to India,

where he holds at present the responsible and remunerative position of chief editor of the Allahabad *Independent* daily newspaper.

A few years later I saw manifest signs of marked literary talent in another Indian Entrance Class boy, H. Khundkar by name. The talent, however, was of a totally different description, and had to be drawn and coaxed out, as the boy was diffident and shy in putting himself forward. His quality was style, a finished style, a perfect expression in idiomatic English with a natural polish. I made him read books abunding in this kind of style to further cultivate it in himself, and I encouraged him to write frequently. He soon acquired a wonderfully pleasing style, in which every individual sentence was a setting of choice words and epithets nearly poetical in their musical cadence. It was fine, but evidently it was laborious, as it required a great amount of gentle persuasion and coaxing on my part to set him going. I urged him to write something nice for the Literary Society, and suggested a number of subjects which I knew would suit him. Days went by and weeks passed, but notwithstanding my frequent reminders he brought me nothing. At last one morning he brought me a rough copy written in pencil of a character sketch entitled "The Indian Dhole," the result of his overnight work. After examining it I returned it to him with the remark that it was much too long, too elaborate, and in parts wanting in terseness and grace. He was a boy of moods, I mean literary moods, and for several days did nothing, till one morning he brought me his second attempt on the same subject. I was pleased this time, and left it as it stood without changing one word in it. It was received with great applause at the next meeting of the Literary Society, and as the original composition of an Entrance Class boy of sixteen, it was given a place of honour in the College magazine. It may interest you, and I feel so confident that it will please you, that I give it as a kind of appendix to this paper, which I will read if time will allow me.

When I was teaching the Entrance Class, it was always a

matter of great regret to me that at the end of the year's work there was the Entrance Examination. I found the standard much too low, and the curriculum prescribed for it unsuitable in many points as not providing sufficient scope for the development the boys were capable of. On the other hand, an outside examination entails always a special responsibility for the master, who is expected to pass his boys and pass them well, while for the boys themselves there is a natural eagerness to distinguish themselves and fall victims for this purpose to the lure of the worst enemy of mental development—"cram." The struggles I have had against this enemy! I became inflexible the moment that I saw a fine talent was beginning to run waste in this direction. The cruellest deed I have done, perhaps, was one day to go over to a boy's home, some little time before the examination, and take away all his books to lock them up in my room. His parents looked on in awe, and the boy was loud in his protests and entreaties. Of course, at the examination he secured a first division, as I knew he would. An outside examination requires a period of special immediate preparation. I could not deny the boys this, but I always made it a point to keep them closely under my eyes during that period to direct and guide them, and, what was in many cases more important, especially with the Indian boys, to control and check them. As I have mentioned, I found the Entrance Examination standard much too low for the boys. To remedy this I taught them up to a much higher standard, on the principle *qui potest plus, potest et minus*. The result was quite satisfactory, and, as might be expected, the numbers in the first division were always exceptionally large. About 90 per cent. of all the candidates I have altogether presented for the examination were successful. I remember one year in particular when there was a slaughter of the innocents, because the standard in English had just been raised, and when only 7 per cent. of the candidates in the whole University were placed in the first division. That year I had presented 30 candidates, and 29 passed, of whom 12, or 40 per cent., secured a first division, while 15 were placed in the second. English

was the stumbling block on that occasion, and it is remarkable that every Indian boy I presented passed, and that among them no less than 71 per cent. obtained a first division. As showing how very far above the Entrance Examination standard my Entrance Class boys were, I may quote the instance of young Mohin Sinha, the son of Major Sinha, I.M.S., and nephew of Lord Sinha. He passed the Entrance Examination in Calcutta in March, went to England in May, and, with just a little more than a month's preparation at St. Paul's School, sat for the London University Matriculation in August, and obtained a first division. Young Mohin was my favourite pupil and perhaps the very best I have had, and it caused me great grief to learn that his brilliant career in Oxford University was cut short by an untimely death. His name lives in St. Xavier's, where an annual Mohin Sinha prize is given in his memory.

It would be a long list if I were to give the names of all the Indian students who have been my pupils, and whose career I am now watching with the well-founded confidence that they will do great things for India in time to come. I must, however, mention one of my latest pupils, Aswini Kumar Chandhuri, son of the Honourable Justice Sir Ashutosh Chandhuri of the Calcutta High Court. As a boy Aswini was from every point of view the delight of his master. I have since followed every step of his career at Oxford University, where he lived up fully to the highest hopes I had centred in him. He has just returned to the land of his birth, after having received at Oxford the degree of Doctor of Laws, the first Indian student, I believe, to achieve this distinction.

I conclude this part of my paper with a quotation so apt and so much to the point that it looks as if all I have said so far were only a development of it. The words were written more than eighty years ago by Sir Charles E. Trevelyan in his book on the Education of the People of India, published in London in 1838 and reproduced in the University Commission Report, vol. ii., p. 231. Sir Charles wrote: "The Bengali children seem to have their faculties developed sooner, and to

be quicker and more self-possessed than English children. Even when the language of instruction is English, the English have no advantage over their native classfellows. As far as capability of acquiring knowledge is concerned, the native mind leaves nothing to be desired. The faculty of learning languages is particularly powerful in it."

To have at least a semblance of being complete, I must say something about the qualities of heart and their training, and the education of the will. I shall try to be short.

The Indian boy loves his master, respects and venerates him, has a perfectly childlike and complete confidence in him, and constantly seeks his company. The English as well as the Belgian boy realizes that he has to spend four or perhaps five hours a day with his master, forms an estimate of him based on his work in the classroom, and metes out his respect, esteem, and consideration, or otherwise, strictly in the measure of the estimate he has formed. Unless the English master be athletic and young at heart, joining the boys in their games and talking with them about cricket, football, and the rest, he is hardly ever what might be called popular, and out of class hours the boys will leave him severely alone, as too superior a person, and perhaps also a little on the principle of *procul a fovee, procul a fulmine*. Not so the Indian boy. If he meets or sees his master outside the classroom, he seems to feel instinctively drawn towards him, with a persistency which is not always appreciated, unless the master himself have the true vocation. The reserve of the classroom, due to the externals of a master's authority, gives way to a natural "abandon" and a kind of filial familiarity in the intercourse between the Indian pupil and his master outside the school-room. It is something implanted by nature in the boy, but which does not die out with his boyhood. It is a special trait in the Indian character, love and reverence for the Guru, or teacher, respect for authority, loyalty to and veneration for the Raja, or ruler, and the best of every one of these feelings, amounting nearly to religious worship, for the great Maharaj, His Majesty the King-Emperor.

All this gives to the person in authority, to the teacher, a power and influence undreamt of in the West, and this brings me naturally to the training of character and the education of the will, the direct objects on which his power and influence must be exercised. The subject is so much more important in India as, together with extraordinary power in the master, you have an extraordinary degree of plasticity in the boy. Hand over to me an Indian boy at the age of seven or eight, and leave him entirely in my hands. After ten or twelve years I shall hand him back to you filled with knowledge, and clever—very clever—but at the same time I can hand him back to you either the best man you can wish to meet, or as consummate a scoundrel as ever entered a prison cell. Such is the plasticity of the Indian boy's character, and such the master's power to shape and mould it. Hence the importance of a graded course of moral development, along with a graded course of mental development. By developing the intellectual faculties you create power, but as fast as you create power you must train the moral faculties in order to create corresponding responsibility. There is no need of my enlarging on this subject. All I wanted to do was to point out its special importance in the case of Indian boys, and the consequent importance of having as masters men of the highest moral standing, able to give, and giving, the best moral training both in their teaching and by their example.

I am coming to the end of this paper, and the conclusion of it all is the urgent necessity of grappling with the important problem with which the paper has dealt. The obvious solution is the creation in the principal centres of India of boarding-schools in keeping, as much as possible, with the ideals set forth.

In these schools the studies must be serious, and the mental training supplied must be the best. Every point which counts in education must be attended to. The government of the school must be paternal, and the intercourse between staff and pupils must be close, constant, and familiar. Realizing the importance of their mission, the staff must be wholly devoted

to their work, which is to produce good men as well as clever men. This must be done by word of mouth and by example. This must be done in the classroom, on the playground, in the master's private room, in the headmaster or rector's sanctum.

For many years I have had such a school for Bengal in my thoughts—or was it, perhaps, in my dreams only?—a school for gentlemen, the sons of the foremost gentlemen in the land, cultivating whatever is noblest and most refined, whatever deserves to be called gentlemanly in the best sense of the word.

The problem is no doubt to a fair extent a problem for those to whom the destinies of India are at present entrusted, but it is essentially a problem to be solved in the main by the foremost citizens themselves. Let them bring to bear on its solution the broadest of views and the highest of ambitions, and they will never do too much or soar too high for the material which India can supply, and for the importance of the interests of that great country which are at stake.

APPENDIX

THE INDIAN DHOBIE

To a student of human nature the Indian dhobie proves a subject of deep and all absorbing interest.

He is a complex character, this knight of the tub. A born despot and able diplomatist, he is yet the humblest of men and greatest of pests.

In his ears there are rings, on his toes there are rings, and in his heart there is guile. His salaams are studied productions of humility, and yet against his devastations threat and remonstrance are alike useless. His shirt is as pure as the undriven snow, and yet *yours* seems ever to have special affinity for stains, His only possessions, as he is at great pains to inform you, amount to a large family, a small donkey, and a good character. The first of these misfortunes is to him a source of great affliction. Defunct mothers-in-law and bail-hunting sons require due attention and expense, while as to marriageable daughters their name is legion. You he considers in the light of his mother and father, and depends in consequence upon your generosity for such expenses.

The first wash brought home is all the heart could desire. It is needless to enlarge upon its merits. We have all experienced once in our lives the joy it gave us, a joy, alas ! too transient. Those, however, that follow in its wake are but a living example of "the light that failed." Beneath its smiling folded surface each garment begins to conceal a treacherous bosom, and destruction slow but steady creeps upon the wardrobe.

The dhobie is a stubborn believer in the virtues of ventilation. The inordinate zeal with which he practises its laws carries his deeds beyond the bounds of decency, and in the pursuit of this nefarious habit his views are as unchangeable as the laws of the Medes and Persians.

He considers, moreover, the duty of separating stains from clothes, or rather we should say of separating clothes from stains, as subordinate to the self-imposed task of separating buttons from clothes ; and if in this, now and then, he does not entirely succeed, well does it argue for buttons and thread, for it seems nothing short of cast iron and whiplcord can withstand the patient exertions of this modern Milo.

Yet another pastime from which the Indian dhobie derives

exquisite satisfaction is the art of indelibly marking with hair-raising hieroglyphics each linen article on precisely the most prominent surface, so that all the world can gaze on it and wonder. When you hurriedly don your inexpressibles and discover them to be innocent of buttons, you feel annoyed; when you encircle your neck in a collar and perceive the button-hole has permanently withdrawn from service, you wax wroth; when you put on a shirt and find the front meet you with a vacant, toothless grin, or become painfully aware of a chill draught playing merrily beneath your arms, you begin to have a kindred feeling for the proverbial worm. But when in the open street a friend claps you on the back and, pointing to your collar, inquires gleefully what branch of the advertising line you have taken up, you feel like "*Furor impius*" when the portals of Janus refused him exit, and a great longing swells within your bosom, a longing to be for five minutes a bull in a china shop.

When confronted with the result of his iniquities and reviled for the baseness of his actions, the dhobie meets righteous indignation with a childish question: "Do I eat buttons?" With joined hands and bowed head, he will survive in humbled silence a torrent of vituperation; and then, calm and serene, he will rise amidst the ruins of misdirected eloquence and frame excuses and make promises with appalling verbosity, bringing the proceedings to a close with a whine for pice wherewithal to buy rice in order to fill his stomach.

The dhobie's most faithful slave and companion is a superannuated donkey. Being a creature of diminutive proportions, all that is visible of it when on duty are the four hoofs and the tail, this latter part of its anatomy serving the purpose of a guiding rein, by which the long-suffering quadruped is hauled around from street to street. The rest of the animal is all bundles. When off duty its four hoofs are tied together and it is left to its own sweet resources, the said resources being to find food. The food-finding propensities of this creature render it unique among its class. Every place, from a dry ditch to a newly metalled road, contributes to its appetite, and its field of diet is wide and varied; a decomposed cabbage it considers as a delicacy, and a discarded dish-cloth as a morsel not to be despised.

The dhobie seems to have a natural feeling of spite against his faithful beast. The process of loading is invariably accompanied with volleys of abuse and occasionally with blows. Sometimes "*Balaam*" shows fight, and then there is music—"Auld Lang Syne," with variations—the words, however, are highly original and altogether unprintable.

However far we peer into the distant future, which bears for India and its peoples great and mighty changes, where nations rise and empires totter to their fall, there yet stands ever before us one hoary survivor, one grisly relic among the crumbling ruins of orthodox ages. That relic is the dhobie. His origin is wrapped in the veil of ancient mythology, and his end will be with the end of things—the crack of doom.

His home is in a dirty tank. Here, up to his knees in stagnant water, he is supremely happy. Here, with a minimum of soap, a minimum of lather, and a maximum of ferocity, he wreaks vengeance for his wrongs, and seeks solace from the cares of the world in battering to bits the clothes entrusted to his tender mercy.

H. KHUNDKAR.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, October 25, 1920, at the Rooms of the Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., at which a paper was read by Father T. Vander Schueren, S.J. (of St. Xavier's College, Calcutta), entitled: "The Education of Indian Boys of the Better or Upper Middle Class Families." The Right Hon. Lord Carmichael, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present: Sir John C. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i.-H., Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Lady Carmichael, Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Drury, Miss Scatcherd, Mrs. Macleod, Mr. H. Das, Mr. S. Laharny, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Miss Rosanna Powell, Miss H. M. Howsin, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. F. M. Sayal, Mr. and Mrs. Blaise, Miss Cooper, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mrs. Reginald Carter, Mr. M. N. Asnodkar, Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Mrs. Meyer, Mr. M. C. Malik, Mr. H. R. James, Mrs. Collie, Mrs. White, Professor and Mrs. Bickerton, General Chamier, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. J. P. Mukerji, Mr. T. C. Jones, Mr. S. S. Gnana Viran, Mrs. E. F. Kinnier-Tarte, Mr. Leo de Muller, Mr. Sydney Loo-Nee, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. F. S. Tabor, Mrs. Underwood, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, before we begin, may I say in the first place that I have had a letter handed to me from Cardinal Bourne, who says:

"DEAR LORD CARMICHAEL,

"I am extremely obliged for the kind invitation to the meeting of the East India Association on Monday next. Unfortunately, I fear that it is impossible for me to be back in London in time to attend. I have been allowed to see Father Vander Schueren's very important paper, and I earnestly hope that, in the interest of the future of India and of the good of the Indian people, it may be possible to give practical effect to the high ideal that he so powerfully sets forth.

"Believe me,

"Yours very faithfully,

"FRANCIS CARDINAL BOURNE,

"Abp. of Westminster."

I will now call upon Father Vander Schueren to read his paper.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not know whether any of you wish to make any

remarks about Father Vander Schueren's paper. I hope some of you do, for it is a very interesting and important one. I listened to Father Vander Schueren with great interest. It is by no means the first time I have heard him speak, though I generally heard him speak in a somewhat different strain, at a prize-giving or something of that sort. I was, as most of you know, for a few years a dweller in Calcutta, where St. Xavier's College is, and while there I saw a good deal of St. Xavier's. I tried to learn what I could about education in Bengal, and I hope I learned, I won't say as much, but almost as much as a Governor could learn in that short time. Perhaps if my boyhood had been like that of an Indian boy I should have learned more. I admit that I was not at all like an Indian boy when I was small. My great desire always was to shirk my lessons. One doctrine which I held firmly was that one should never learn too much, or at any rate that one should never run the risk of cramming one's head with knowledge which might be unnecessary; I think I successfully practised that—at any rate, I know I am very sorry now that I did. I think many English and Scotch boys are like that. There is something, though, to be said for it, for honestly I think it is well for a boy to keep a bit in hand. Very often you learn a thing later on a great deal better than you could learn it when your master wants you to do. My experience, and I think Father Vander Schueren does not altogether disagree, is that the most valuable things you learn when you are a little boy at school are what you learn outside the classroom. No one will ever convince me that this is not true, and I say it now deliberately, because I do think that so far as I can see that is where the Indian boy does not get quite a fair chance. I do not think from what I saw of educational institutions in Bengal—of course, I only saw those which the Governor was allowed to see, and very few of those were anything but Government institutions—that Indian boys were given quite as good a chance outside the classrooms as English boys are given, and I will say further that I think more might be done for them than was done while I was Governor in that direction. More might be done in securing better masters. I did not blame the masters, but I often used to think that a master whose ideal is to be a schoolmaster might be a better master than one who is merely filling in his time while studying in hopes of becoming a lawyer of some sort. It certainly would be so in England, and I think perhaps it is so in any country. However, I will say this, Indians do make the best of a bad bargain: they use every opportunity we give them. That was my opinion as a Governor. I am sure they used the opportunities we gave them to the full. I only wish I could say I feel certain we gave them all the opportunities we might have given them. I say that speaking as an ex-Governor, but things are changing in India. Englishmen, even those who take an interest in India—they are not the majority, the usual Englishmen who take an interest in India—hardly realise how quickly that change will come about. I feel sure that the effect of reforms that have been passed, whether for good or evil—I think it will be for good—will show itself far more rapidly in the direction of giving Indians management of Indian affairs than we are inclined to think.

(Hear, hear.) I say that mainly because I have been in a self-governing colony. I was a Governor in Australia, and I was often struck by what I heard about how rapidly—much more rapidly than people expected—change took place in the direction which I hope will be followed in India as the result of changes, not, of course, the same, but on analogous lines. Indians are not less ambitious than Australians. I do not think they are less anxious to do what they think is for their own good and for the good of their country, and I believe that the changes may be even more rapid than they were in the self-governing colonies; anyhow, I feel certain there will be a very great change soon.

One sentence which struck me in Father Vander Schueren's paper was at the very end, where he said that the problem is one for those to whom the destinies of India are at present entrusted. Perhaps he was thinking of English people, but it is essentially a problem to be solved in the main by the foremost citizens themselves, and I feel perfectly certain that it will not be very long before the persons to whom the destinies of India are entrusted are the foremost citizens of India. We cannot help that. I do not think we should want to help it. What we can do is to do our best to help those foremost citizens, and there is nothing to which I think they are more likely to try and help themselves than in education. I have ideas of my own about education in India—I am not going into them, I was not there nearly long enough, and I had not time when there to go deeply enough into many important points to enable me to speak with authority. It is for Indians to realize and make up their minds what sort of education they want. Father Vander Schueren says education in England is what suits England. I can tell him education in Scotland is rather different from English education. I suppose it is what suits Scotland. I was taught in England myself, though I am a Scotsman, but I do think there are some good points about Scottish education (Hear, hear) which would suit England if only England would adopt them. Speaking as a Scotsman, I am not sure that I am sorry England has not adopted them. Father Vander Schueren has pointed out the difference in Belgian education. He is a Belgian and he knows. He said Indian education must be such as suits India. It must be. And I think it is only Indians who can really judge what that is. I always felt that myself. I was surprised at some things that Indians used to tell me they required in their education. I often had arguments with Indians and I was often surprised at some points which they dwelt on as necessary. I am not sure that they were right, but they had made up their minds, and that being so, they must try to find the best kind of schools to suit their views. I think it is in the second part of the paper that Father Vander Schueren says that the schools must be for the foremost gentlemen of the land; he points out that education must be given to them to fit them for ruling their land. At first, at any rate, those who are likely to occupy high posts will be those who by good fortune in their birth—if you like to put it that way—are the sons of men who can afford to give them a good education. That is true. It may be regrettable, but it certainly is true, and, therefore, though I am one of those who think one of the greatest needs of India is a very widespread sound

elementary education, I do think that perhaps very excellent higher education is an even greater need. It is a greater need now than it was when I was in India. When I was there I did not think it more important than elementary education, but now, as the result of legislation which will come into effect directly, it seems to me that the greatest need of all is a thoroughly good education for those who, owing to the accident of their or their father's birth, will be in a position to lead Indians and carry out the destiny of their race. That is why the education of what I think Father Vander Schueren calls the better or upper-class families is of the utmost importance. I know that many of these so-called better and upper classes have different ideas from what I should have expected them to have about education. They seem to me to want to Westernize it more than I should, but they no doubt have good reasons; and at any rate I do think, if they are going to run their country politically on Western lines, as they seem deliberately to wish to run it—very likely perfectly rightly—if they are to run it effectively they must be able to see that the good points in Western government are carried out, and if the government is to be carried out well there must be between those who are governed and those who are governing a thorough understanding. If Indians are going to govern on Western lines they must know really what Western lines are. I confess I was surprised sometimes how little they seemed to appreciate that. Even the best educated Indians whom I met and discussed these matters with seemed to me strangely ignorant of some things. It was not their fault. It was the fault of their education. But they were strangely ignorant of some matters which practically every English boy knows. Even the greatest shirkers of school lessons, even boys like myself who never write more Latin verses than they can avoid, cannot help learning a great deal, not from their masters, but simply from what was going on round them, which the Indian never does learn, because he has lived under different circumstances. The Indian has been governed perhaps to too great an extent. Well, at any rate, those who governed him were trying to do their best, but they were men who had been brought up under perfectly different circumstances, and who looked at things from a totally different point of view.

But now one thing which Indians want is to see more Indians in high positions in the administration of Indian affairs. That was an object I set before myself, and I tried, I hope, as far as a Governor could try, to put Indians into positions of responsibility, but I could see there was one very real difficulty and one very sound reason for not always putting an Indian into a position one would have liked to have seen him put into—it was that when some difficulty arose, as it must arise in any country, if an officer made a mistake, as all officers, even the best, whether they are boys fresh from college or whether they are at the top of the tree; whether they are Governors with no experience of India, or men with great experience—they must make mistakes at times. Well, the real difficulty I always felt was to get in true touch with the person who had made the mistake. If an English officer makes a mistake, as they sometimes may, it is very easy for the Governor to send for that officer. He does not need to be

too down upon him, or get his members of council or his secretaries to rebuke the man too much if there has really been an honest mistake. He can say to the officer: "Look here, you have done this. Now, why did you do it?" An Englishman could generally explain to you why he did it very quickly, and you can easily explain to him why he was wrong, and can tell him: "Do not do it again;" it is possibly the fault of the Governor for not having understood his position. That is an easy thing to do, and I can tell you as a Governor I know that sort of thing is often done, more so than people think, although perhaps it might be done a little oftener.

But with an Indian officer it is more difficult. He does not understand the thing from the same point of view as you do, and it takes time probably to persuade him that you really want to understand his point of view. Mind you, I never found them shirk. They find it hard to believe you forgive them and that sort of thing; it is very difficult sometimes to persuade them that you do not think they have been so wrong as they think themselves have been, and that their mistake is due to circumstances which would equally have affected an Englishman. I often found it difficult to realize how important some things seem to Indians, and I have been very much struck by the frequency with which Indians have, I was going to say, almost begged me to consider well before putting them into positions of responsibility. I have been struck by that over and over again. I admire them for it. And I was struck, too, by the way in which some Indians realized that they had not exercised responsibility as well as they hoped and would have liked to do. I will say this for them, I can recall several cases in which they told me they did not think it would be fair to me as Governor that they should try to do what they feared they could not do well. I think that is very greatly to their credit. But the time has come when they will *have* to assume responsibility, and when they will have to make mistakes, even if they feel they are making them, and when they will have to be judged on their mistakes. It may not be so easy for them for a little time perhaps to get behind the ægis of the Governor as it is and as it has been in the past. (Hear, hear.) I know some of them realize that. As a matter of fact I was talking to one Indian gentleman in a very high position not very long ago who realizes it thoroughly, and who I know is convinced that India has no greater need at the present time than a thorough education for those young Indians who are likely to hold high positions and ought to hold them to fit them to do their best for their country.

Now the same thing applies, though in a different way, perhaps, to commercial matters. Rather a different education must be given to a great many Indians than is given now if they are to hold their own in worldwide commerce. I believe they could hold their own, I hope they will, but it will depend a great deal on their education. They will get the education that they want. We English or Scotch people must not thrust the education we like on to them. If we do we are sure to make mistakes. We have tried that too much in the past and we have made many mistakes. They will be much better judges than I am or any ordinary Governor, and I

think—though I shall probably be corrected—even these members of the I.C.S. can be as to what they require.

I remember all the discussions about the Hastings House School when I was in Calcutta. I do not know how far that has been a success; I know it has not realized all the hopes and expectations that some of my friends had for it, and I know that some of the fears which some of my friends and I myself entertained for it have been found somewhat real. But I do hope that something will be done quickly towards bringing about a real good school. And I will go farther and say that from what I know of him, Father Vander Schueren would not be at all a bad man to ask to help. I know, from my visits to St. Xavier's, what great interest he and those who have worked with him have always taken in their Indian boys. I know that in many schools, in all the best schools I went to, great interest is taken in Indian boys, but nowhere more than at St. Xavier's used it to be pointed out to me that pure Indian boys were showing qualities which contrasted well with English boys in the same school. I know what Father Vander Schueren thinks about that. I daresay he and I would not agree on many points, but I feel certain that if Indians would take my advice—I do not know why they should, but I hope that any who are interested in that question in Calcutta will at any rate consult Father Vander Schueren.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I hope there are some here who can talk with more experience than I can. We shall be pleased to hear any such lady or gentleman.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said they had all been very much impressed by the eloquent lecture they had just listened to. He would not have ventured at his first visit to a meeting of the Association to offer any remarks except for the fact that in the matter of school education he happened to be in an intermediate position between the *laissez-faire* attitude which the noble lord told them he had adopted and the very strenuous attitude which was adopted towards education in those excellent institutions which the Jesuit Fathers controlled. He had had the good fortune to be educated for some years in one of those institutions, and he was therefore in a position to appreciate the admirable way in which rations of Greek and Latin were dispensed, though he could not say he had always swallowed them with pleasure or profit. He felt in a middle position between the two theories: the British theory of education in which the development of character came first, and book-learning had in the past been more or less looked down upon as the work of a "smug"; and the Continental theory, which perhaps placed undue stress upon instruction as apart from the development of character. As regarded India the problem, as the lecturer explained, was to find the happy mean between the two. Hitherto in India they had gone too much on the principle of imparting instruction and too little on that of the formation of character. But he was of opinion that if they had a multiplicity of institutions like St. Xavier's, controlled by men of the same high ideals and the same wide knowledge, they could look forward to the development of education in India on proper lines with great confidence. (Hear, hear.) Unfortunately, at

present, there were few such schools. Nothing struck him more in the various parts of India where he had served than the extraordinary desire on the part of the higher classes, irrespective of race and religion, to send their children to the very best institutions, even though those institutions were controlled by Jesuit Fathers or nuns and by missions of various denominations. They felt that there, to some extent, the old Indian theory of the Guru and Chela was realized, and they felt that though the teachers were not of their race and religion they still stood for high moral qualities, and that those moral qualities were necessary for their children. It was therefore not a matter of wonder when in Hyderabad he found several of the leading nobles had sent their children to Bombay to be educated in the Jesuit school there. If they had a multiplicity of such schools run by men of the same type the problem of education would be much easier for India. The problem was one essentially to be solved by the Indians themselves, and, as the chairman had said, it was their duty to solve it in the right way. Some of them had looked with anxiety on the proposal in the reforms scheme to transfer all branches of education to Indian control, but Indian advanced opinion pressed strongly for it, and it would now be for Indians to justify the decision.

There was one type of institution which the lecturer had not referred to, which to some extent had solved the problem. He was referring to the Chiefs' Colleges. There were three or four of them in various parts of India chiefly engaged on the education of the children of the rulers or the aristocracy of the Native States. They had been organized by Government and were staffed by selected members of the educational service, but the ruling princes and the aristocracy took an important share in the management. He had seen a great deal of the products of Indian education in the schools and universities from all parts, and on the whole he thought those so-called Chiefs' Colleges had come nearer to solving the problem with regard to Indian education than any others. (Hear, hear.) They had been successful in his opinion because they approached in many respects the ideals of the English public schools. They all knew that education could not be solely imparted in the classroom; it must be imparted partly at home by the influence of the parents, which he feared in these days was steadily decreasing, partly in the schools, both by the teachers and the classmates, and partly and very largely outside the classroom in the playing-fields. In those Chiefs' Colleges many of the masters were men of the best English school type, men who had a love for education and for the boys, and who threw themselves heart and soul into understanding and developing the character of the boys. In his experience in many parts of India the best type of men were turned out by those institutions, and they had now succeeded in establishing a tradition, the lack of which was the most serious defect in most Indian schools.

One point he wished to make clear was that St. Xavier's was in the happy but exceptional position of being able to draw on the most talented students of Bengal, and was therefore able to produce excellent results which could not be looked for generally. But though the aristocracy of talent collected in St. Xavier's was perhaps greater than in any other

institution in India there were two features observable at St. Xavier's but also common to India generally—namely, a universal desire among Indian parents to do the best possible for their children, and the eagerness of the Indian boy to make the best use of the opportunities which were given to him. Those two conditions were to be found everywhere in India, and the great question was how best to satisfy those conditions—how to provide the best machinery for getting the best out of the boys. That was a problem the future had to solve. Indian schools generally had certainly so far failed to solve it. Education was not a profession which had been looked up to, but a great deal had been done of late to improve the service. The responsibility was now to be thrown upon the Indians themselves, because education was a transferred subject which would be within the purview of an Indian Minister responsible to the new Councils. He hoped the result of the increasing responsibility which was to be thrown on the Indians would ensure the results they all desired—namely, to set up in India a series of institutions similar to St. Xavier's and the Chiefs' Colleges, which would be staffed by men with a love for their work and a desire to do the best for their pupils and to turn them out worthy sons of India and worthy citizens of the Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Professor BICKERTON briefly described the magnificent work that was being done in India by Captain Petavel in the way of self-supporting schools, and pointed out that the system of co-operation on a large scale was exceedingly successful. He heartily agreed with all the lecturer said as to the difference between the various systems of school education and in the characters of the boys of different nations. He was brought up in an English Grammar School and had been science master at Winchester, and he knew the lecturer's descriptions were quite true, but in Captain Petavel's system they had at once a method of outdoor work which led to enthusiasm, and above all overcame the difficulties of the caste system.

Mr. M. C. MALIK, in thanking the lecturer for his very excellent paper, said that nearly forty years ago he had the pleasure of advising his friends to send their boys to St. Xavier's, and since then many boys of the families to which he belonged had been to St. Xavier's. The subject was a very interesting one, and the problem of Indian education was a difficult one to solve under the present conditions. First of all there must be sympathy between the teacher and the pupil, and the teachers of St. Xavier's were known to provide that sort of teaching. That was the reason why so many boys there distinguished themselves. The education required for India ought to be a blend of the higher thought of both India and England, but until they secured teachers who possessed that higher thought he did not think the teaching in India would be efficient. An Indian teacher ought to be in the position of being like a father to his boy; if he was not, then he could not have a proper influence over his pupils.

In conclusion he said he had great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Father Vander Schueren for his splendid lecture, and hoped that all teachers in Indian schools and colleges would be imbued with the same sympathy and affection for their pupils as the reverend lecturer was.

Mr. COLDSTREAM said he had much pleasure in seconding the vote of

of thanks to the lecturer for his very entertaining and suggestive lecture, and he also wished to include in it his thanks to the noble lord who had so kindly presided over their meeting.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: For my part, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you.

The LECTURER, in replying, said that with regard to the remarks made about his paper he gathered there was very little criticism and much praise, and it only remained for him to thank them all. He was especially grateful to Sir Michael O'Dwyer for his remarks, which showed a great knowledge of the matter, and he agreed with every point he had made, because he recognized the excellent efforts he had made in regard to education for the upper classes. He would shortly be returning to India, where he hoped to continue his work for the good of the Indian people until his dying day (Hear, hear), and would do all he could to work on the lines as detailed in his paper. He had been thirty-six years in India—for thirty years without putting his foot out of it—and if he were to die before getting back to India he was sure there would be great trouble with his bones, because they would never rest in peace anywhere unless in that great beloved land of India. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The proceedings then terminated.

Mr. H. R. James, Indian Educational Service (retired), writes:

Father Vander Scheuren's subject is so important, and his paper so valuable, that, perhaps, I may be allowed to write one or two things about it, which I did not find opportunity of saying at the lecture.

The very title of the paper is challenging, for in this country one is not ordinarily now permitted to speak of "upper class," still less of "better class," education, nor are we always free to hold up the public schools as models for imitation. *The Times* Supplement had lately an article on "Public Schools for All," and this straightway provoked the protest from more than one correspondent that the public schools were nurseries of class prejudice and forcing-houses of snobbery. But in India, at any rate, there are still "upper classes" by common consent, and Father Vander Scheuren is quite right in directing thought to schools specially adapted to boys of those classes. For it is indeed an important subject at the present time—important beyond expression. "In the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and the rest, and in her schools, lies, without doubt, the hope of modern India; for in proportion as they can extend the spirit of toleration, of co-operation, and sound patriotism among her sons of different cultures and faiths, will India be fit for the new era which is about to commence."* Father Vander Scheuren has done a great service to the Association by bringing the subject before them for discussion.

But Father Vander Scheuren would himself readily admit that he has only stated the problem—not solved it. We agree that it is of the utmost immediate importance to establish in India the best possible kind of

* *Calcutta Review* for July, article by E. F. Oaten on "England's Indian Policy."

schools for the boys Father Vander Scheuren has in mind. But how is it to be done?—"Hic opus, hic labor est." For it is a very difficult thing to do. Fathers have to be persuaded that the schools we propose really are the best for their sons, and they very rightly have the chief say in the matter. Greater expenditure is involved, and where is the money to come from?

The proposal of such schools is not, of course, a new one, though Father Vander Scheuren puts it with freshness. Others have dreamt dreams like his. In particular, there was Sir Andrew Fraser's Ranchi scheme, the vision of a place of education on an Indian upland that should be all that free air, and space, and money, and enthusiasm could make it. The eyes that saw that vision most clearly were closed for ever among the hills in sight of Jerusalem three years ago.* There is Sir Rabindranath Tagore's wonderful experiment—no, not experiment—achievement at Bolpur. At Bolpur assuredly the essential and more substantial parts of the system are "Indian and suited by their nature to the nature of the Indian mind." "It is a boarding school for boys," says the Report of the Sadler Commission of Bolpur, "situated on a rolling upland in open country, and combining in its course of training and methods of discipline Indian traditions with ideas from the West." Is Bolpur the solution of Father Vander Scheuren's problem? And, if not, how is it to be done?

I suggest as a small contribution to a very large subject, that we should begin by making the most of what we have. And happily, when we inquire carefully, we find we have a good deal. There are the Chiefs' Colleges, of which Sir Michael O'Dwyer spoke. These do undoubtedly attempt the task already, and with considerable success. There is the work done by St. Xavier's and other schools of a like kind; there is even peculiar virtue in Indian boys associating at schools with boys who are European and Christian. No one who has listened to Father Vander Scheuren needs assuring that a sound education is offered to Indian boys of the upper classes at St. Xavier's, Calcutta. There are several schools in Calcutta under private management which reach a fair standard. The Calcutta University Commission's Report gives an account of some of these—you find it in the eighth chapter of the Report. There are the two Government schools in Calcutta, with a hundred years of tradition. These have been connected from generation to generation with some of the leading families in Bengal. Their right to be counted schools for better-class families cannot be disputed. You will find evidence in the chapter of the Sadler Commission's Report already referred to. These too reach a fair standard. If a wise liberality were exercised in their regard, instead of a dubious frugality, they would reach a higher. There are throughout India many excellent Zilla schools also well worth developing—and on public school lines, boarding-houses and all. An experiment of the kind was made at Ranchi between 1906 and 1912. It is well to keep in mind in this connection a criticism made in the Dacca Report of 1912: "There can be no question that Bengal has suffered

* Charles Russell of the Indian Educational Service.

from the failure on the part of the upper classes to take their proper share in the educational systems of the country."

A discussion on this subject should certainly not ignore the recent contribution to its solution of the Calcutta University Commission. Their main suggestion is the proposal of new institutions, to be called Intermediate colleges, in which school education should be completed. I confess I am somewhat shy of Intermediate colleges. They are too much like the Second Grade college, which was long ago found wanting. But the Commission recognize two other possibilities. One is for a new type of institution, consisting of the two highest classes of high schools of the present type, combined with the two classes of the Intermediate college. This is Mr. Garfield Williams' proposal, and is to my mind better than the two years' course of the Intermediate college. But better than either is the other alternative which would effectually give India a new and higher type of "public school." It is to take selected schools, public and private, of the present High English School type, and add to them two more advanced classes, so bringing the school-leaving age to seventeen or eighteen. This would, I conceive, be in a true sense, making the most of what we have by enlarging it into something higher and better. I know it could be done with many existing schools—including the Calcutta, Hindu and Hare Schools—with which for some years I was closely associated. It could be done, at any rate, on one condition. Boys now enter these schools as young as seven or eight years of age. If ten were made the lowest limit of age, the difficulty of accommodation at these schools could to a great extent be met. The rest would be mainly a problem of staff—a difficult and most important problem, but not, I think, insuperable.

In support of such a new type of school, which might be called in a new sense a "collegiate school," I can take a parting shot from the arsenal of the Calcutta University Commission's Report. They say: "The boys would be kept under the same direction long enough to render possible the creation of a real corporate spirit, and the exercise of a strong influence on mind and character." This seems to me the most important consideration of all—the value of the school as an institution. It is implied, I think, throughout Father Vander Scheuren's paper, but I could wish it brought out more explicitly. The school must be on such a scale, and so organized, that it can impress the mind and the imagination of the boy as something fine and great, for the sake of which he is to do and to be his best. In the school, if it is to fulfil the demands of the present hour, we must teach respect for law and zeal for the common good. The boy must learn there to live and work for something higher and more inspiring than self-interest. The hope is that loyalty to the school may lead on to the larger loyalties—loyalty to the State and nation, loyalty to the cause of mankind.

THE PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN INDIA *

By J. PH. VOGEL, PH.D.

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THERE is, I believe, no sphere of the present Indian Administration in which it enjoys a greater and wider sympathy than in its care of the ancient monuments of the country. It is possible that I am inclined to attach to this branch of service, to which I myself belonged for thirteen years, too great an importance. But let me remind you that the ancient monuments, which lie scattered in such numbers over the wide lands of India, have, with only a few exceptions, this feature in common, that they one and all bear a religious character; and, if we consider how in India religious consciousness still pervades every thought and action, we cannot but understand how great must be the appreciation which the Government's care of the old temples and topes, mosques and mausoleums, wins amongst the mass of the population, when every religious community sees its own sanctuaries protected and preserved with an impartial care.

The care of the monuments in India undoubtedly has a high political value, and on this account it has surprised me sometimes to find this ignored by officials who, although they might not personally take any interest in old buildings, should at least have perceived that merely from a practical point of view it ought to be promoted. To such people it may at any rate be pointed out that it is the ancient monuments which draw numerous tourists to India every cold season, thus constituting a valuable source of income—an argument

* An address delivered at a meeting of the Indian Society (Indisch Genootschap) of The Hague, November 14, 1916. Translated from the Dutch by Mrs. D. Kuenen-Wicksteed.

which cannot fail to make an impression upon those who convert all values into pounds, shillings and pence.

Fortunately, let me hasten to add, amongst the Indian officials such Philistines are exceptional. As a rule the members of the Civil Service fully acknowledge the importance of the preservation of the monuments, not so much from the practical point of view as for its ideal significance. Indeed, in the course of my work in India it was very rarely that I did not find them warmly interested and ready with their assistance. I may add, too, that the Indian Civil Service has produced several distinguished scholars who in the field of Indian archæology have accomplished excellent work. Among such men I need only mention Dr. J. F. Fleet, who takes a prominent place amongst epigraphists, as shown by his standard work on the inscriptions of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, and Mr. Vincent A. Smith who has produced numerous reliable works on the subject of the political and æsthetic history of ancient India.

It is a remarkable fact that in India, where such great respect is felt for everything ancient, the scientific study of the old monuments was first begun by European scholars. The inscriptions of King Asoka and of the Gupta Emperors, which even to the most learned Pandit were an unsolvable riddle, were deciphered by James Prinsep and others. The ancient buildings were first studied and described by James Fergusson. In this way interest was aroused both in India and in Europe, but at that time there was as yet no question of the regular care of monuments.*

In the first half of the previous century it was especially the Asiatic Society, founded in 1784 by Sir William Jones

* There are, however, isolated cases of the restoration of important buildings, amongst others of the celebrated Qutb Minār near Delhi in 1829—that is, during the “rule” of the Great-Mogul Akbar II. (1806–1837). An account of this not very judicious restoration is found in a rare and little-known publication, the *Journal of the Archaeological Society of Delhi*. It should also be mentioned that as early as the fourteenth century the enlightened Sultan Firūz Shāh Tughlaq (1351–1388) set himself the task of restoring the great buildings of his predecessors—a remarkable and probably unique example of monument preservation in the pre-British period !

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at Calcutta, which led scientific research into archaeological channels. At that time such research was not considered to be a matter for the Government. A change, however, came a little later, with the appointment of Colonel (afterwards General) Alexander Cunningham, R.E., who had already distinguished himself as a member of the Asiatic Society, to the post of Archaeological Surveyor—that is to say, to control archaeological investigation on behalf of the Government. It was in 1862, under the Viceroyalty of Lord Canning, that the institution of the Archaeological Survey of India took place.*

It would have been difficult to find a better head for this new branch of the public service (for the present he was head and body at the same time). Numbers of ancient sites in Northern India were examined and identified by him. In ancient topography, in particular, he possessed an insight that amounted to positive genius. It was my privilege, more than once in the course of my researches, to be able to demonstrate the correctness of his conclusions, which his critics had called into question. The results of Cunningham's untiring labour in almost every field of Indian archaeology—epigraphy, numismatics, architecture and sculpture, chronology and history—are to be found in the imposing row of twenty-three volumes which form the first series of the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, to which Vincent Smith added, as the twenty-fourth volume, an extensive index.

With the preservation of the ancient monuments Sir Alexander Cunningham was not entrusted. In his reports he repeatedly mentions cases of vandalism committed upon old monuments, or the plundering of ancient sites on a

* According to a note by the architect William Simpson, it was really due to the warm interest of Lady Canning in the ancient art of India that the Archaeological Survey of India owes its origin.

After the new Viceroy, Lord Lawrence, had abolished the office of Archaeological Surveyor in 1866, in June, 1870, the Archaeological Service was re-established at the special request of the Secretary of State for India, and Cunningham was again appointed chief, with the designation of "Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India."

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large scale, especially in connection with the construction of railways. As an archaeologist he must have felt deeply grieved, but he regarded it, perhaps, as a fatality, which it was useless to strive against. I am not aware, at any rate, that he ever suggested any means of combating the natural decay or wilful destruction of the monuments, except so far that sculptures and inscriptions were collected by him in great numbers and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In this way the nucleus was formed of the magnificent archaeological collection preserved in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.*

Among other treasures, Cunningham removed the profusely sculptured railing of the Bharhut Stūpa to the Calcutta Museum, after those priceless sculptures had—alas!—received irreparable damage at the hands of the neighbouring villagers. But the immovable monuments—that is, the buildings themselves—remained abandoned to their fate. Even those which Cunningham discovered in his excavations usually soon fell a prey to the greed of the villagers, unless they were protected by the sanctity of the spot.

This was the case, for instance, at Kasiā, where Cunningham, led by his brilliant power of combination, recognized in a heap of rubbish, overgrown by brushwood, the site of the ancient park of Kusinārā, which had witnessed Buddha's Nirvāna. His brilliant hypothesis was confirmed when his assistant, A. C. L. Carlleyle, at the outset of his excavations on the spot, struck a gigantic image of the dying Buddha—the same image that had been seen there and described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century. Thus was the Nirvāna temple of Kusinārā, once one of the four most holy pilgrim shrines of the Buddhists, after centuries of oblivion, again discovered and restored to honour.

* There are now museums containing important archaeological departments in Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Lucknow, Quetta, Nagpur, and Rangoon, while there are purely archaeological museums in Delhi, Agra, Muttra (Mathurā), Taxila, Peshāwar, Ajmir, Sarnāth (near Benares), Faizabad, Bijapur, Poonah, Mandalay, and Pagan, besides those found in various Native States. The museums I have mentioned are in charge of the officers of the Archaeological Survey.

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"Restored" also in the literal sense, for Carleyle deemed it necessary to repair both the image and the temple in which it was enshrined. Although this restoration is not faultless in all respects, Carleyle rendered a great service by it to the faithful, who now, as in the days of yore, come from all quarters of the Buddhist world to do honour to the venerable image of the dying Buddha.

This is, therefore, one of the few cases in which the Archaeological Survey, under Cunningham's leadership, occupied itself with restoration work. Another even more important case which deserves mention is that of the Mahābodhi temple at Bōdh Gayā, which, according to earliest Buddhist tradition, marks the pre-eminently sacred spot where Sākya-muni experienced the great spiritual awakening which made him "the Awakened," the Buddha.

Beyond these solitary exceptions, Cunningham, as has been said, did not occupy himself with the preservation or restoration of monuments. In fact, it may well be said that the archæological investigations, so vigorously undertaken by him and his assistants, greatly encouraged the hunt for antiquities and the consequent despoiling of ancient structures. Buddhist stūpas which for centuries had remained undisturbed, now that it had become known that they often contained gold coins, gems, or other valuables, were opened and ruthlessly despoiled. For the sake of their problematic contents, the sacred monuments were all too often irrevocably damaged, and thereby the most precious of all, the relic that the pious Buddhist, centuries ago, had carefully enshrined in the heart of the structure, not seldom disappeared.*

* Even before Cunningham's time numerous stūpas were plundered and destroyed. One of the first cases which has come to our notice is that of the ancient stūpa of Sārnāth, near Benares, which, in 1794, was demolished for its building material by Jagat Singh, the minister of Raja Chet Singh of Benares. The reliquary was rescued by the British Resident, Mr. Jonathan Duncan, and presented to the Asiatic Society.

Somewhat later the stūpas of Afghanistan were systematically "opened" by the English traveller Masson, while in the Panjāb it was especially the French and Italian Generals in the service of the Sikh King Ranjit Singh who carried out archæological "investigations" in a manner not exactly scientific.

The discovery of so-called Græco-Buddhist sculpture (that is, Buddhist sculpture created under strong Hellenistic influence) in the trans-Indus country—the ancient Gandhāra—led to the plundering of the ruined monasteries, in which the Afghan population of the district took an active part. The fanatical Pathans, always so eager for the spoiling and destruction of idols, soon perceived that the unearthing and selling of such “buts” (every old piece of sculpture is in their eyes a “but” or idol!) was in the long run a more profitable occupation.

And it was not only in the outlying frontier districts that neglect and destruction of ancient monuments was the order. In the great centres, Delhi, Agra, Lahore, and Allahabad—once the residencies of the art-loving Great-Moguls—another kind of vandalism was practised, which might be called utilitarian. For there the magnificent palaces of Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāh-jahān, and even the mausoleums of their Amirs, were used for various highly useful but highly unsuitable purposes.

In Lahore, the capital of the Panjāb, we have seen remarkable instances. The Pearl Mosque, or Moti Masjid, in the Citadel was used as a treasury, and another mosque, founded by the foster-mother of Shāh-jahān, as an office of the North-Western Railway. Moreover, various sepulchres were misused for practical purposes, amongst others, the tomb of Jahāngīr's favourite, Anār-Kali, was first used as a church and later as a record room. In the same way the Sleeping Pavilion of Shāh-jahān in the Lahore Fort was turned into a church, and the open throne-room of the Great-Moguls into a barrack. It is only fair to add that the abuse of these Muhammadan buildings in the great majority of cases had already been begun by the Sikhs, and that, thanks to the exertions of Lord Curzon, the most important of these edifices have now been vacated and thrown open to the public.

In the same way, after the suppression of the Mutiny in 1857, the palace of the Great-Moguls in Delhi—its ancient glory can still be read of in the pages of François Bernier—

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was consigned to the housing of the British garrison. Only the large buildings, that could serve for the accommodation of officers and men, were left standing; the rest was demolished. James Fergusson is bitterly indignant over this deed, "a deliberate act of unnecessary vandalism, most discreditable to all concerned in it."

As late as 1886 the distinguished French savant, James Darmesteter,* wrote: "Les débris du fort, où étincelaient le Trône d'Or et le Trône du Paon, sont transformés en casernes. Le Divan public, où le Grand-Mogul recevait les ambassades de Jacques I^{er} et de Louis XIV., est une cantine, et le mur où s'appuyait le trône porte le prix des consommations."

"O Aurang-zeb ! vous souvient-il des vers que, il y a deux siècles, au bord de la Jounna, vous traciez en lettres d'or sur le marbre du Divan Hass ?

"Si le paradis est sur terre, c'est ici ! c'est ici ! c'est ici !"

At the time when these words were written a better spirit had already arisen. It was the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, who took the initiative in 1880 by instituting the office of "Curator of Ancient Monuments," which was held for three years by Major H. H. Cole, R.E. A complete idea of his extensive labour can be gained from his copiously illustrated publications. Special mention should be made of his restoration of the famous Buddhist stūpa of Sānchi, with its stone railing and four profusely sculptured gates or "tōranas"—next to that at Bharhut, already mentioned, the most ancient structure of its kind. In the beginning of the last century, shortly after the stūpa (or "tope") of Sānchi was discovered, English amateurs had damaged the building in such ruthless fashion that the gateway facing the west had completely collapsed. Major Cole set himself the task of closing the disgracefully opened stūpa and rebuilding the western

* James Darmesteter, "Lettres sur l'Inde," p. 15. It may parenthetically be noted, that the writer erroneously associates the Persian verse quoted (*Agar Jādaus be rū-ī-kānān ast, Hāmān ast to, Jāmān ast to, Jāmān ast*) with Aurang-zeb. As a matter of fact, the Dīwān-i-khām, like the whole palace of Delhi, was built by order of his father, Shāh-jahān.

tōraṇa. The southern gate also called for repair. This restoration was not carried out with the care and knowledge which a work of this kind demands. Some portions of the western gate have been wrongly replaced, others were left behind among the débris. At the same time we should be thankful that this remarkable monument now reigns again in its ancient glory, on the hill of Sānchi, and is preserved from the fate of its sister monument of Bharhut.*

Another important work of restoration executed under the guidance of Major Cole concerned the mausoleum of the Great-Mogul Jahāngīr, not far from Lahore. Here, too, there is evidence of errors against historical truth and good taste. If the Curator of Ancient Monuments, in addition to his undoubted energy and enthusiasm, had possessed a greater amount of antiquarian knowledge, his work would certainly have gained by it.

This seems to have been felt in Government circles too. At any rate, the newly created post was not renewed, and two years after Major Cole's retirement it was decided to entrust the care of ancient monuments to the Archaeological Survey, which, as we saw, had until then devoted itself exclusively to research. The new arrangement was accompanied by important alterations in this branch of the service. In 1885 General Cunningham had retired as head of the Archaeological Survey; his successor was Dr. James Burgess, who had for some years carried on archaeological investigations in Southern India (the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras). The enormous territory over which he was now appointed as Director-General of Archaeology for the whole of India was divided into five circles, each including one or

* A. Foucher, "*La Porte orientale de Sanchi*" ("Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation du Musée Guimet," tome xxxiv., pp. 5 *et seq.* Paris, 1910). The writer reminds us that in 1867-68 the Muhammedan Queen of Bhopal, in whose kingdom Sānchi is situated, was on the point of sending the whole eastern gate to Paris as a present to the Emperor Napoleon III. This act of vandalism was fortunately prevented by the intervention of the Viceroy, Lord Lawrence, and later, in 1869, complete casts were made of this gate, at the cost of the Indian Government, which may now be seen in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Paris, and Berlin.

more provinces. There were Madras, Bombay, the Panjāb (with Sind and Rajputana), the North-West Provinces (with Central India and the Central Provinces), and Bengal (with Assam). For each of the five circles an Archæological Surveyor was to be appointed. As a matter of fact, only three surveyors were appointed—viz., for the Panjāb, the North-West Provinces, and Bengal—while Dr. Burgess continued to conduct the researches in Bombay and Madras, with the help of two assistants. He only held the post of Director-General for a few years, till 1889, and during that period he occupied himself almost exclusively with exploration, which appealed most to his scholarly tastes.

After Burgess had gone home in 1889, the office of Director-General was left vacant. There happened to be one of the periodical fits of retrenchment, and of course such a service as the Archæological Survey, which was looked upon by some as "a mere luxury," was the first to suffer. Thus, not only the post of Director-General was left unfilled, but also some of the by no means liberally paid surveyor's places—viz., that in Bengal, Burma, and the Panjāb. Moreover, there still reigned in Government circles the strange idea that the work of the Archæological Survey as regards the care of monuments (which had gradually become the most important part) would only be of a temporary character. The task should be confined to the compiling of lists of monuments for each province separately. In these lists the monuments were to be divided into three classes, and, when this were once completed, the conservation of them could be handed over to the Department of Public Works and the Archæological Survey could be abolished. Accordingly, in 1885, it was sanctioned on the new footing for five years, and each time, in 1890, 1895, and 1900, it was renewed for five years, as it constantly appeared that its appointed task had not yet been accomplished.

Of the difficulties encountered during these years I need not go into detail. Let me rather give you the name of the man to whom it is due that better days have dawned. It

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is Lord Curzon whose undying honour it is, as Viceroy of India, to have firmly established the Archæological Service and to have regulated the preservation of monuments in an efficient manner. A few weeks after he landed in India, February 1, 1899, the Viceroy declared at a meeting of the Asiatic Society that he regarded the promotion of archæological research and the preservation of the ancient monuments as "a part of our Imperial obligation to India." A year later, at the next annual meeting of the same Society, Lord Curzon in a comprehensive address explained with great eloquence how he wished to interpret the task of the Government with regard to the interests above mentioned. I wish that I had space to quote the whole of this brilliant speech. Let me be permitted to quote a few passages.

"I hope" (thus the Viceroy began his address), "that there is nothing inappropriate in my addressing to this Society a few observations upon the duty of Government in respect to ancient buildings in India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal still, I trust, even in these days, when men are said to find no time for scholarship, and when independant study or research seems to have faded out of Indian fashion, retains that interest in archæology, which is so often testified to in its earlier publications, and was promoted by so many of its most illustrious names. Surely here, if anywhere, in this house which enshrines the memorials, and has frequently listened to the wisdom of great scholars and renowned students, it is permissible to recall the recollection of the present generation to a subject that so deeply engaged the attention of your early pioneers, and that must still, even in a breathless age, appeal to the interest of every thoughtful man.

"In the course of my recent tour, during which I visited some of the most famous sites and beautiful or historic buildings in India, I more than once remarked, in reply to Municipal addresses, that I regarded the conservation of ancient monuments as one of the primary obligations of Government. We have a duty to our forerunners as well as

over, the provincial Governments principally that must care for these interests and supply them with funds, and of these the amount varies greatly. The lakh yearly devoted by the supreme Government in its Budget serves for the support of all manner of work of special importance, both in British India and in the Native States—for excavation, research journeys, purchases for museums, publications, etc.

A second measure of great importance was the re-establishment of the office of Director-General of Archæology, which, since the retirement of Dr. Burgess, had practically ceased to exist. Before the end of the year 1901, in which the Viceroy had delivered his Calcutta speech, Mr. J. H. Marshall was appointed Director-General for a term of five years. In the early spring of 1902 he landed in India.

The appointment of Mr. Marshall was received with some suspicion, especially on the part of Orientalists. For he was a youthful scholar, who had devoted himself with great distinction to classic archæology, had studied some time at the British School in Athens, and also taken part in excavations in Crete, but who had never had occasion to occupy himself with the study of Oriental languages.

The objections raised to Marshall's appointment would have been more serious if he had been called upon to devote himself alone and single-handed to scientific research, as had been the case with his great predecessor, Sir Alexander Cunningham, who, as a matter of fact, had also gained his knowledge of ancient India and Indian languages in India itself. The newly-appointed functionary, however, was given the charge, both of research and of the conservation of monuments, and for the present the latter, the shamefully neglected conservation, was put first. The Director-Generalship was now, therefore, an entirely different thing to what it had been.

The new functionary needed to be not only a scholar, but, above all, a man of judgment and good taste. As adviser to the Indian Government, as head of a Government Department and of an extensive office, he must be, moreover, a man of tact and of prestige, capable of combining the greatly

divergent elements, within and without his own department, in harmonious co-operation.

Let me say at once that Sir John Marshall (for he, too, received a knighthood a few years ago) proved to be "the right man in the right place." He reorganized and extended the Archaeological Survey, and, what was of particular importance, before Lord Curzon retired from office the service was made permanent.*

The new Director-General succeeded in improving and developing both the conservation of monuments and archaeological research. In the first part of his task he showed himself to be a man of good taste and sound judgment; in the second part a man of great intelligence and extensive knowledge. His particular merit is that in his excavations he applied the strict scientific methods that he had acquired in Crete.

The results of the work done by the Archaeological Survey under Marshall's guidance are laid down in the stately series of illustrated *Annual Reports*, which, begun by him in 1903, are still continued. Eleven volumes of the series have already appeared. As Government publications they are presented gratis to scientific institutions, not only in India, but throughout the whole world.

In 1910, when I was called to replace Marshall for a year and a half as Director-General, it was proposed to abolish the *Annual* and to publish the results of archaeological research in another form. I took this opportunity of asking

* In a resolution of April 28, 1906, the Archaeological Service was made permanent, and at the same time some improvements were made in the salaries and position of the officers connected with it. They had already received the more imposing title of "Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey" in place of that of "Archaeological Surveyor."

At present the Archaeological Service consists of a Director-General, seven Superintendents, six Assistant Superintendents, and two Epigraphists. Both at the central and provincial offices there are, moreover, native draftsmen, photographers, and clerks. The cosmopolitan nature of this branch of the Service may be gathered from the fact that some years ago amongst the Superintendents were found an American, a Chinese, a German, a Hungarian, and a Dutchman, while the office of Epigraphist was filled by a Norwegian.

the opinion of a number of well-known Orientalists, and it was a matter of great gratification that they almost unanimously expressed a high appreciation of Marshall's *Annual*, which was accordingly continued in a slightly modified form.

I should also like to call attention to a little book that appeared recently, a Government publication entitled "Indian Archaeological Policy, 1915, being a Resolution issued by the Governor-General in Council on October 22, 1915 (Calcutta, Superintendent Government printing, India, 1916. Price six annas, or seven pence)." In this "resolution" (drawn up principally by Sir John Marshall) a clear and business-like account is given of all that has been accomplished by the Indian Archaeological Service during the last twelve years in its various branches (conservation, research, museums, publications, etc.).

In this connection it should be mentioned that the task of the archaeological officers is purely advisory, while the execution of the work is left in the hands of the Public Works Department. As a rule the procedure is as follows: The archaeological officer inspects each year a certain number of the most important monuments in his circle. To visit them all within that time would be out of the question on account of the enormous extent of the district in his charge. At the inspection of important buildings, the district engineer is, as a rule, invited to be present, in order to discuss all technical difficulties on the spot. Then the archaeological officer embodies his recommendation in a "Conservation Note," in which his recommendations are put down as accurately as possible. These "Notes" are then sent to the Director-General for confirmation. As most of the monuments are known to him, through his annual tours, he can often extend and improve the suggestions made by the provincial archaeologist. The "Conservation Note" is then printed, and serves as a guide for the execution of the work.

How necessary it is that those who are entrusted with the execution of the work should be furnished with minute instructions I have more than once been able to observe. In the

course of an inspection tour I once visited the remarkable ruined brick temple of Bhitargāon, in the district of Cawnpore, which was first described by Cunningham. To my horror I perceived, even from a distance, that the walls were covered with a thick layer of plaster, the spotless whiteness of which contrasted strangely with the subdued colour of the high roof, which (probably owing to lack of funds) had been left in its dilapidated condition. On inquiry it appeared that a subordinate Public Works officer, to whom the conservation of this temple had been entrusted, had conceived the plan of thoroughly doing up the old building, so that it would look fresh and new ! Fortunately it was easy in this case to undo such an ill-considered piece of restoration, to remove the layer of plaster, and take more adequate measures for the preservation of the ancient temple.

On another occasion I had made proposals for the preservation of the coloured tile-decoration on the wall of the Lahore Fort.* Many of the panels had badly suffered, partly from natural causes of decay and partly in consequence of a bombardment during the years of confusion that immediately preceded the British annexation of the Panjāb. My proposal was that the gaps in the tilework should be filled in to prevent further crumbling away. When, however, I went to inspect the work, I saw that the masons, not satisfied with the prescribed measures for preservation, were engaged in touching up the surface, whereby the difference in colour between the vulgar paint used by them and the magnificent colours of the old tiles became painfully conspicuous. Fortunately this "restoration" was only just begun, so that no damage of importance had been done.

The fact is that the execution of such work often devolves upon subordinates, who, as the example quoted serves to show, do not understand that in this work the principles and

* The technique of this mode of ornamentation, which is of Persian origin (both in Persia and India it is indicated by the word "kashi"), has been lost at least in India. In the days of Shāh-jahān in particular this art was applied on a large scale to the ornamentation of brick buildings at Lahore and other centres in Northern India.

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methods are entirely different from those followed in the repairing of a modern building.

What, now, are the leading principles to be followed in the treatment of ancient buildings? Marshall, not only in his handbook on the subject, but also in his Annual Reports, has repeatedly laid them down. In general it may be said that the object is preservation, and that for this purpose the most important thing is to prevent decay.

"Preservation before Repair.—Officers charged with the execution of conservation work should never forget that the reparation of any remnant of ancient architecture, however humble, is a work to be entered upon with totally different feelings from a new work or from the repairs of a modern building. Although there are many ancient buildings whose state of disrepair suggests at first sight a renewal, it should never be forgotten that their historical value is not to renew them, but to preserve them. When, therefore, repairs are carried out, no effort should be spared to save as many parts of the original as possible, since it is to the authenticity of the old parts that practically all the interest attaching to the new will owe itself."

The two great enemies of ancient monuments that must be strenuously combated are water and the growth of plants. It is water which, in the celebrated cave temples of India, has wrought irreparable damage. By the moisture the heavy pillars are often completely eaten away underneath, so that at last the upper part of the column hangs from the ceiling and, instead of supporting the overhanging rock, increases the peril of collapse by its weight. It is distressing to think that very simple measures of drainage, if applied in time, might have prevented a great deal of irremediable damage.

The same is the case with vegetation. It is particularly the pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) which seems to have a special predilection for ancient masonry, and which, with its huge roots, will slowly but steadily break up an old building. It is especially the luxuriant vegetation peculiar to India which renders periodical inspection so necessary. The Public

Works Department is, therefore, obliged to inspect the most important buildings in the district regularly, and yearly to clear them from weeds.

But to prevent the collapse of a more or less ruined structure other measures may be required. Overhanging walls must be supported, cracked arches propped up, and gaps filled in. Here, therefore, new masonry is required, but to most it will be plain at a glance that the new work is not part of the old building, but only serves as support. Naturally it must be the endeavour of the archæologist to make such additions as little conspicuous and objectionable as possible.

In this kind of conservation work it will, in certain cases, be necessary or desirable to replace old portions of the building that are decayed or fallen away by new work.

Thus we come at last to the vexed question of how far it is permissible to renew portions of an old building on a large scale. Marshall has expressed himself clearly on this point and declared that he cannot agree with those who condemn all restoration (that is, reconstruction)—a principle that was once upheld by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. This Society has published a manifesto in which it insists on putting "Protection in the place of Restoration, to stave off decay by daily care, to prop a perilous wall and mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for support or covering, and show no pretence of other art, and otherwise to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands; if it has become inconvenient for its present use, to raise another building rather than alter or enlarge the old one; in fine, to treat our ancient buildings as monuments of a bygone art, created by bygone manners, that modern art cannot meddle with without destroying."

"The attitude of the Department," says Marshall, "in fact, coincides very closely with that of the moderate thinkers at home, who fully recognize the deplorable harm that can be done in the name of restoration, but recognize also that there may be religious, social, political, or other considera-

tions to be taken into account which render it impracticable to lay down one law which will be applicable to one and every case."

What would have become, asks Marshall, of the Tāj Mahal,* the celebrated mausoleum that the Great-Mogul Shāh-jahān had built on the shores of the Jamna for his beloved wife? What would have become of it, if this building had always been treated according to the strict rules of this Society?

"Now, let us suppose that this method of dealing with structures had been applied throughout to the most famous and perhaps the most extensively restored of our Indian monuments—the Tāj Mahal at Agra. What would have been the state of that priceless tomb to-day? It would have been a ruin, stripped of half its marbles, tied together with bands, propped up with buttresses or scaffoldings, and disfigured by other accretions and eyesores. Instead of that, the counsel of perfection which has prevailed in its restoration has given back to India a gem of unblemished beauty, perfect in itself and perfect in all its surroundings. I cannot think that even the staunchest opponent of restoration, if he viewed the Tāj as it is to-day, could wish it back in its old state of dilapidation, or could regret for one instant that the charm that lingered round it in its decay had been replaced by the more abundant loveliness of life. But apart from æsthetic sentiment, which can hardly fail to endorse all that has been done for the Tāj, there were other very potent reasons which demanded its restoration. For the Tāj is not a 'dead' monument. It is still the resting-place of the Great-Mogul Emperor and Empress for whom it was erected, and as such it deserves to be maintained in all its original splendour. Nor does it appeal to the Indian people as an antiquarian relic. It is to them a national heritage, of which they are justly proud, and which they have a right to expect will be preserved to posterity as something more than an interesting ruin.

* In his speech quoted above Lord Curzon reminds us that in the time of one of his predecessors, Lord William Bentinck, the Tāj was on the point of being demolished and the marble converted into money.

Indeed, I think I may truly say that there is no archaeological work in India that has given more profound gratification to the people than the rescue of this cherished mausoleum from neglect, and the effacement from it of all signs of vandalism committed by earlier generations of Englishmen."

Everyone who reads this eloquent appeal and who has had the good fortune to behold the Tāj Mahal with his own eyes will heartily agree. It is impossible to treat all monuments according to one principle, by which all reconstruction is simply forbidden. Each case must be judged on its own merits.

As a matter of fact, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, on reconsideration, associated itself with Marshall's opinion and declared " that, as regards Indian architecture, it drew a distinction between the older Hindu and Buddhist edifices on the one hand, and the more modern erections of the Muhammadan invaders on the other; and that in the case of the latter it was of opinion that local conditions might sometimes demand or justify a policy of limited restoration, on the ground that the art of the builders has not completely died out, as in the case of the more ancient Hindu and Buddhist buildings."

Marshall was right in perceiving that in general a distinction should be made between the Muhammadan monuments of the last seven centuries and the Buddhist and Hindu buildings, which for the most part belong to an earlier period. The former, which include the magnificent works of the Great-Moguls at Delhi, Agra, and Lahore, are often in a perfect condition of preservation, whereas the Buddhist and Hindu buildings are usually more or less ruined. In many cases they have been wilfully defaced; for innumerable temples have fallen victims to the fanaticism of Muhammadan iconoclasts. In many cases the restoration of such a building would be out of the question, as they have completely assumed the character of ruins. There is another characteristic difference between these two classes of monuments. Hindu temples are usually covered with sculpture, in which the

strange effigies of the gods are mingled with the quaint forms of fantastic beasts. The Law of Islam forbids the imitation of living creatures, and although free-thinking rulers like Akbar, Jahāngīr, and even Shāh-jahān, often disregarded this rule, yet it can be said in general that the ornamentation of Moslem buildings consists in pure geometric designs or in floral and foliated patterns, which, however delicate they may be, do not bear an individual character and can be executed equally well by a modern workman of sufficient skill. It is a craft which has been preserved in unbroken tradition, and therefore there can be no such objection to renewing, when necessity demands it, the stonework of this class of buildings.

On the other hand, no attempt can ever legitimately be made to restore the sculpture of Hindu temples, either by complete renewal or by patching up defaced or worn-out images.

In the domain of Muhammadan monuments, of late years, an enormous amount of conservation work has been done, especially at Delhi, Agra, and Lahore, where the magnificent palaces and tombs of the Great-Moguls are found. No trouble or expense has been spared to rescue these buildings from long neglect. The Archæological Department has gradually succeeded in getting the military to evacuate nearly all the buildings. In the palace at Delhi the Great Audience Hall had long ceased to be misused as a canteen, but certain buildings, such as the Rang Mahal, were still employed as officers' quarters. At present the whole archæological area is fenced off and thrown open to the public. A few years ago the palace garden Hayāt Bakhsh was newly laid out in its own peculiar severe architectural style.

"The old causeways, water-channels, tanks, and fountains," writes Marshall, "which were buried beneath several feet of soil, have been excavated and restored; structures that had perished have been replaced by shrubberies, and the courtyards they enclosed by grass lawns; and what was formerly a barren waste has now been converted into a pleasing garden."

On the east side, alas ! still rises the row of huge barracks of which Fergusson complained so bitterly. As long as the citadel is used to accommodate the garrison, it is to be feared that these will remain indispensable. I must add, however, that the Italian mosaics which decorated the Imperial throne in the Hall of Audience, and which, after having been removed during the Mutiny, finally found their way to the South Kensington Museum, have been, at the instigation of Lord Curzon, restored to their original place, while the rest of the mosaic work, which had been damaged, has been restored by a *mosaicista* brought from Florence.

But it would lead me too far to sum up all that has been done to these remarkable buildings during the last few years. It may produce the impression that rather too much attention has been bestowed upon this class of buildings, which, however attractive they may be for the "globe-trotter," and however suitable for brilliant entertainments, which were given here during the Darbārs of 1903 and 1911, are still, from an archæological point of view, almost modern, and products of a foreign art introduced under alien rule.

It must, therefore, be pointed out that constant attention is being paid to the preservation of Buddhist and Hindu monuments, although here, just because it is confined to steps for conservation only, no such large sums are involved.

The number of ancient buildings or groups of buildings in British India that was under repair in the year 1902 was less than 150; in the year 1915 it had risen to nearly 700.

Some of the most important ancient monuments happen to be situated in the territory of Native States. Thus the stūpa of Sānci lies in Bhopāl State, which is governed by a Muhammadan dynasty, and, remarkably enough, that dynasty has for a length of time been represented by a woman, the Begam of Bhopāl. The celebrated group of cave temples of Ajānta, as well as those of Ellora, lie within the domains of the Nizām of Hyderabad (Deccan).

The Native States may avail themselves of the advice and assistance of the Archæological Survey, and for that purpose

they were, in 1901, allotted to the different "circles." To what extent the care of the monuments can really be fruitfully undertaken in such States largely depends upon the attitude of the Darbār concerned. One would expect that in these States, which are ruled by Indian princes, the preservation of ancient monuments would be felt as a national interest. This is by no means always the case. I remember the strange answer given by one of the first chiefs of Rajputana when it was reported that a tower of great artistic and historical value in his ancient capital was in great danger of collapsing. His answer was: "Kyūn na giregā? Bahut purānā hai." (Why should it not fall in? It is very old.)

Fortunately, there are others amongst the Indian princes who appreciate the importance of archaeological research and the care of ancient monuments. I remember with gratitude the enlightened Raja of Chamba, a small hill State in the Western Himālaya, from whom I experienced nothing but sympathy and support in the course of my researches.

In Marshall's "Indian Archaeological Policy" (p. 10) the following remarks are made with regard to the Native States:

"The efforts which have been made by Government to rescue from decay and to repair the national monuments of the country have not been confined to British territory alone. In 1901 the Government of India invited the co-operation of the Native States in the task which it was undertaking, and offered to help them with advice or financial assistance if the latter should be needed. This invitation met with an immediate and warm response from the ruling chiefs, and many important measures of conservation have since been carried out by the Darbārs of Hyderabad, Udaipur, Bhopal, Dhar, and other States. Several of these Darbārs—namely, Hyderabad, Kashmir, and Gwalior—have now gone a step further and have instituted archaeological departments of their own, placing them in each case in charge of qualified officers obtained from the Archaeological Department of India."

How fruitful these "Archaeological services" in Native

States may prove to be, time alone will show. Their results must be awaited. The archaeological officer in the South Indian State of Mysore (which is not mentioned above) publishes a carefully elaborated Annual Report, in which photographic reproductions of buildings, images, and inscriptions are included.

Finally, I want to say a few words about the "Ancient Monuments' Act," which—again thanks to Lord Curzon's initiative—India has possessed for the last twelve years. It is not my purpose to discuss this law in all its details: I will confine myself to a few leading features. In general it may be said that it does not enforce any general rules and prohibitions, but confines itself to the means for the preservation of ancient monuments which can be adopted by the local governments.

The Act contains, for instance, no prohibition against the export of antiquities from India, but gives the Governor-General in Council the power to enact such a prohibition, either for all antiquities or for one special kind (§ 17), while the provincial governments have the right to forbid sculptures, inscriptions, etc., from being removed from the place where they are found, except with special permission of the Collector (§ 18). In this way the Government of the United (formerly North-West) Provinces resolved to forbid the exportation of antiquities from the district of Muttra (Mathurā).

The most important provision of the Indian Monuments Law is that (§ 3) by which the provincial governments are empowered to declare certain monuments "protected" by announcement in the local Gazette. In itself this would not, of course, be of great significance, but the law contains certain penalties, by which anyone who destroys or defaces a "protected monument" is liable to a fine which may extend to Rs. 5,000, or with imprisonment which may extend to three months, or with both (§ 16). This section of the Act creates a powerful means of punishing, if not preventing, wilful damage to ancient monuments.

Buildings which are private property can also be declared

"protected monuments." The Collector (or Deputy Commissioner), with the previous sanction of the local government, then makes an agreement with the owner, in which, as a rule, the government undertakes to keep the building in proper repair, whereas the owner promises to leave it undisturbed (§ 5). Thanks to this regulation, it has been possible to save many a monument from neglect and ruin, e.g., the tomb of Tegah Khān—amongst the buildings in the neighbourhood of Delhi one of the few from the reign of Akbar and one of the most beautiful of its kind. It was the property of a Mirza, a descendant of the Great-Moguls, who did not possess the means for taking proper care of it.

In special cases Government has the right to acquire a preserved monument which is in danger of being destroyed, injured, or allowed to fall into decay, upon the ground that the preservation of such a monument is to be regarded as "public purpose" (§ 10). Buildings which are periodically used for religious observances are excepted from this regulation.

In this connection it should be pointed out that the term "ancient monument" is taken in a very wide sense by the authors of the law, as in § 2 of the Act it is described as designating "any structure, erection, or monument, or any tumulus or place of interment, or any cave, rock sculpture, inscription or monolith, which is of historical, archæological, or artistic interest, or any remains thereof."

It is a matter of extreme importance whether on the grounds of this definition so-called "ancient sites" may be regarded as "ancient monuments," to which the regulations of the law are applicable. By an "ancient site" is meant the ground upon which an ancient building or a group of such buildings has stood. The expression includes, therefore, the emplacement of an old fort or town. Such a place may be recognizable from a rising in the surface of the ground, sometimes hardly perceptible, sometimes sharply defined in the shape of one or more *tumuli*, and by the presence of fragments of antique earthenware, brickbats, and so forth. The remains of regular buildings are, as a rule, entirely hidden

beneath the surface. Only too frequently an "ancient site" of this kind is exploited by the neighbouring villagers, as it supplies them with building materials for their dwellings, with manure for their fields, and sometimes even with gods for their temples. If the archaeologist subsequently wishes to undertake systematic excavations, he finds, to his distress, that exactly those things that were of primary importance to him have already been removed, or irrevocably destroyed.

It will be readily understood of what importance it is for archaeological research that such territories should be preserved. More than once the archaeological officers have proposed that an "ancient site" of this kind should be put upon the list of "protected monuments." At first they met occasionally with some opposition from officials who considered that the expression "monument" could not be applied to such territories, but finally the Government has conformed to their opinion. Thus a number of "ancient sites" were placed on the list of protected monuments in the Panjāb and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, amongst others the site of the city of Taxila (Sanskrit Takshasilā), known from Alexander's campaign, which embraces the territory of four villages. In the last few years important excavations have been undertaken there under the guidance of Sir John Marshall.

However gratifying it may be that India possesses an Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, it goes without saying that the best-thought-out and most precisely formulated law is of no use unless it is enforced. And this is sometimes extremely difficult in the case of ancient structures that lie in remote places, and can only seldom be visited by the responsible officer. It is doubly difficult when extensive territories of the kind just described are concerned. Even if the poor villager is caught in the act of digging up old bricks within such a "protected" area, is there not every chance that the district official will be inclined to overlook the offence instead of resorting to the rigour of the law? It must be remembered, too, that what now became an offence had, from time

immemorial, been a perfectly legitimate practice, by which practical and industrious persons had been able to provide themselves with cheap building material. I remember how, towards the end of excavations carried out by Sir John Marshall and myself at Chārsadda in the Peshawar District, an undoubtedly respectable mullah proffered us the request to be allowed to make use of the exposed bits of Buddhist walling for the building of a mosque. In the eyes of the Afghan population, who now inhabit the ancient Gandhāra, there could naturally be no more fitting use for the not very imposing remains of the *but-khānah* ("idol-house") which we had excavated. The request was—certainly to their surprise—politely refused. And yet, after a few years, no traces were to be found of our excavations, although they had been specially recommended to the protection of the headmen of the neighbouring villages.

A still more painful experience was that of my American colleague, Dr. D. B. Spooner, when, at Shahr-i-Bahlol in the same district, he had laid bare a small stūpa decorated with beautiful stucco-work. Knowing the fanatical nature of the inhabitants, he had taken the precaution of setting a watch while he devised a plan for removing the whole structure to the Peshawar Museum, when, in consequence of a misunderstanding, the watchmen were recalled by the local official, with the immediate result that the delicate ornamentation was completely destroyed.

While in the districts inhabited by Muhammadans it is against destructive fanaticism that the monuments have to be protected, amongst the Hindu inhabitants religious zeal expresses itself in a different way. As soon as an old image comes to light, it is immediately carried off to the village temple, there to be worshipped as a god. Whether it had originally belonged to a heterodox sect is of no consequence: an image of Buddha is worshipped as the goddess Kālī or under another familiar name. If the image is once within the sacred walls, the Government will refrain from having it taken to a museum, however great the art value may be,

and in spite of the fact that it may be regarded as State property, for the Indian Government scrupulously avoids all interference in matters of religion.

A third factor that should be mentioned is the childish craze for collecting curios of European and American "globetrotters," who, every cold season, visit India in large numbers.

To protect the innumerable monuments of India against these different destructive elements is a task the difficulty of which cannot be exaggerated. Only for the most important monuments lying near the greater centres are special custodians appointed, but almost without exception these are natives, called Chowkidârs, not disinclined to increase their small pay of seven or eight rupees a month by the bakhshesh offered them by well-meaning and perhaps evil-intentioned visitors. Generally speaking, the most satisfactory ones are pensioned non-commissioned officers of the Native army, especially if they are decorated with a number of war medals.

The fact is that the safety of India's ancient monuments will only be adequately assured when a true appreciation of their value has penetrated the masses of the population. We have some grounds for hoping that this appreciation will gradually develop out of reverence for tradition and the religious spirit which is in so high a degree peculiar to the Indian character. To this characteristic it is certainly due that so much has already escaped destruction. Amongst the educated national feeling also plays its part, which, although really foreign to the Indian spirit, has become more and more developed of late years. In addition to the work of the Archaeological Survey, it is certainly the learned societies of the different provinces which contribute to the growth of interest in the antiquities of the country, both amongst Europeans and Indians. It is upon public opinion, as Baldwin Brown rightly observes, that the safety of ancient monuments chiefly depends.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, November 22, 1920, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., at which a paper by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, PH.D. (Professor at the University of Leiden; late Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India), entitled "The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India," was read by the Secretary, Mr. Stanley P. Rice (in the absence of Henry Cousens, Esq., M.R.A.S.). Owing to the unavoidable absence of The Rt. Hon. Lord Curzon, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.C.L., Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following, among others, were present: The Rt. Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Duncan James Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir William Owens Clark and Lady Clark, Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. G. Owen Dunn, Lady Kensington, Lady Muir Mackenzie, Miss Scatterd, Miss Webster, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. E. F. Kinneir Tarte, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. S. G. Hart, I.C.S., Mr. H. R. James, Mr. H. J. R. Hemming, Mr. M. C. Mallik, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. S. S. Gnana Viran, Mr. B. R. Ambedkar, Mr. B. P. Desai, Mr. V. N. Parekh, Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Swaine, Mr. G. Morgenstierne, Mr. E. H. Tabak, Mr. J. H. Advani, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Lady Scott-Monerieff, Mr. H. Das, Miss Allen, Miss Vertue, Mr. Sydney Loo-Nee, Mr. G. B. Coleman, Mr. Bal Krishna, Mr. K. Gauba, Major and Mrs. Tugwell, Mr. J. M. Cousens, Mr. M. N. Asnod Kar, Mr. B. G. Paranjpe, Mr. F. J. Conway, Mr. C. Kunhi Ramay, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mrs. Collis, Colonel H. Picot, Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Mr. T. C. Goswami, Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., and Mr. S. Arumugam.

The HON. SECRETARY said that he regretted to have to inflict a disappointment upon them by informing them that Lord Curzon was unable to attend, owing to illness. Unfortunately, also, the gentleman who had undertaken to read the paper, Mr. Henry Cousens, was unable to be present. However, he had great pleasure in announcing that Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree would take the chair, whilst he himself had undertaken to read the paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the noble lord appointed to take the chair this evening has not been able to be present, and a substitute has had to be found at the last moment. I am sure you will agree with the remark of our Secretary that our disappointment must be great at finding that Lord Curzon could not be here to-day to preside over this meeting, as he had intended to do, because it is not only Lord Curzon's high and distinguished position which would have made him a most suitable chair-

man, but more especially, in regard to the subject of the lecture, the great interest which he took during his Viceroyalty in the preservation of ancient monuments. That was one of the landmarks amongst the many which distinguished his Viceroyalty, one of those activities of his career in India which will bear fruit in the future. (Cheers.) I am pleased to find in the paper quotations from his speeches in connection with this subject, and I cannot help reading one sentence in order to show the real spirit of the enormous interest he took with regard to the preservation of monuments in India. He said: "If there be anyone who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man. Art, and beauty, and the reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by the common religion of mankind. To us the relics of Hindu and Muhammedan, of Buddhist, Brahmin, and Jain, are, from the antiquarian, the historical, and the artistic point of view, equally interesting and equally sacred."

Now, it cannot be gainsaid that one who has expressed such views about the preservation of monuments in an ancient land like India was eminently fitted to take the chair this afternoon, and I feel a sense of great disappointment myself that he is not here, which disappointment, I am sure, is shared by you all. (Hear, hear.) I myself am no expert on the subject, so that I feel all the more I cannot replace him with any satisfaction to you; but you must realize we are just improvising to-day so as not to disappoint the audience of the great treat for which they have come here, and instead of postponing the lecture in order to secure Lord Curzon's presence at a future date, the Council of this Association thought fit that the lecture should proceed, and asked me to fill up the gap by taking the chair.

I am reminded that this paper is a translation of a very valuable paper read before the Indian Society of the Hague in 1916, by Professor J. Ph. Vogel, PH.D., who himself was for thirteen years the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, so that the paper itself will be of immense value, and I feel sure you will be interested in the way in which he has treated this particular subject.

I will now call on our Secretary to read the paper.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think it will be agreed that we are much obliged to Mr. Rice for having at a moment's notice undertaken to read through this most interesting paper. It throws an enormous amount of light upon one of the most interesting subjects, which ought to appeal at all events to the people of India, and, as I remarked in the few sentences I spoke at the beginning, by far the largest share of the credit of the present policy with regard to the preservation of ancient monuments is due to Lord Curzon. You have all heard his views which he expounded before the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, and you also know how he followed those views up by practically passing an Act and doing all that he could during

his Viceroyalty to ensure the preservation in future of those monuments. What strikes me as the most important lesson pointed out in the course of this paper is the effect which this policy has exercised upon the minds of the people of India. The people of India are no vandals; they do not, like many more enlightened people, break and treasure up pieces of ancient monuments just out of curiosity or for merely exhibiting amongst their friends. If there has been neglect on their part in preserving and caring for them—and I dare say there has been for centuries past—it has been from a want of knowledge of the value of ancient monuments, of the light they lend to historical research, of the testimony they afford as regards the capacity for art and architecture of previous generations. As you heard in the course of the lecture, it had been remarked by one of the old Indian Princes: "What is the use of preserving an old thing? Let it fall." That, I believe, was the sentiment to which was due the fact that there was a great deal of negligence with regard to the conservation of monuments. But we also had another instance quoted in the paper of the new generation of Chiefs attaching value to the work of Dr. Vogel's department and giving all the help that they could. If I had only known that I should be addressing this meeting to-night, I would have brought with me a publication which was issued about twenty years ago by the enlightened Maharaja Takhtsingji of Bhavnagar, who had all the Asoka monuments lithographed and published in a very handsome and elaborate volume with explanatory text. Another instance of revived interest, which was doubtless due to Lord Curzon's policy, was that in regard to a certain monument of great historical value in Western India, for the preservation of which the late Sir Ratan Tata gave a handsome donation. There has also been created a wholesome influence of great value in another direction. We have seen stated in the paper that the Muhammedans were keen to secure certain relics of Hindu religious architecture, and to make other uses of them, or destroy them as symbols of idolatry; and Hindus carried them away to be worshipped. Well, at the bottom of it, no doubt, was some religious feeling, but they have now learned that difference of creed or religious zeal need not be displayed by mutilation of ancient relics; that it not only avails nothing, but means simply the destruction of antiquities which might be of very great historical and educative value. That effect upon the minds of the people of India is to me something of very great value as resulting from the policy of the preservation of monuments. (Hear, hear.)

I understand that our late Secretary, Dr. Pollen, who for many years did such veteran service to this Association (Hear, hear), and whose name has been in many parts of India so well remembered, has, with his usual energy, addressed Miss Scatcherd a letter in which he has made a reference to this paper, and I shall ask Miss Scatcherd to read to you that part of Dr. Pollen's letter. After that I propose to call upon Sir Aurel Stein, the famous Central Asian explorer, and a member of the Survey, who has honoured us with his presence here to-day, to address the audience; and if there are any others who would like to contribute their quota to the discussion, I should be pleased to have their names handed in.

Miss SCATCHERD said that Dr. Pollen had written wishing for a successful meeting, and she would be glad to report to him that it was a very well attended meeting. After congratulating the Association for having secured Lord Curzon, Dr. Pollen went on to add :

" . . . No one has done more for the preservation of ancient monuments in India than his lordship. I remember some thirty odd years ago crossing the Indus with him between Sukker and Rohri. He was then the Hon. George Nathaniel Curzon, a travelling M.P. I drew his attention to the new railway-bridge then under construction across the Indus at Sukker, and spoke of it as 'one of the wonders of the world.' But he turned away from it at once and gazed at the beautiful tombs of the Seven Sisters on the Rohri side, expressing regret that they had been allowed to crumble into ruins. I do not suppose he had then any idea that he would become Viceroy, but years afterwards as I stood behind him at the Apollo Bunder in Bombay—when he was making his first speech as Governor-General-elect on Indian soil—I recalled his Indus crossing and his care for Indian monuments. A few weeks after landing in Bombay he spoke out about the promotion of archaeological research and our Imperial obligation to India in this matter, and by his energy and determination he succeeded in rousing Government officials to a sense of their duty. In this connection, as in many others, India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Curzon. I always foretold that sooner or later Indians would recognize the debt they owe to him."

She would like to draw attention to a footnote on p. 3 of the paper : " According to a note by the architect, William Simpson, it was really due to the warm interest of Lady Canning in the ancient art of India that the Archaeological Survey of India owes its origin." That, however, in her opinion, did not by any means detract from the enormous debt they owed to Lord Curzon. (Hear, hear.)

Sir AUREL STEIN said that he could not resist the very kind invitation of the chairman to say a few words. He was anxious to do full justice to the very great services which Lord Curzon and the department he subsequently organized had rendered with regard to the preservation of Indian monuments. Though he had had the honour of belonging to the Indian Archaeological Survey, his own particular work had lain mostly in parts where such preservation as could be recorded had been the work of Nature—i.e., in Central Asian deserts, where the drift-sand covering ancient sites had prevented the mischief often done by human hands.

He had the great privilege of being present in Calcutta in 1900 at the very meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society to which the lecturer had called attention, at which Lord Curzon for the first time set forth his full programme for the preservation of ancient monuments and the organization of the Archaeological Survey. Having had long previous experience of the conditions under which Indian monuments had suffered, he then felt that the programme was a big one. One could hardly feel sure that even the energy of such a great statesman as Lord Curzon would achieve good results within the usual five years of a Viceroy's office. But after his return to India from his first Central Asian expedition it was not long

before he began to realize that the measures undertaken by Lord Curzon had borne far more fruitful results than he had ventured to hope for.

Historical students all over the world, not only in India, owed a very great debt of gratitude to Lord Curzon. It was very encouraging to know that, apart from that love of antiquity and love of art which he had amply shown, he possessed the power of the true organizing statesman to ensure his ideas continuing after his own personality had ceased to assert itself. Every year they now saw the Indian Government steadily pursuing the policy which Lord Curzon had laid down. He could speak from personal experience, and say that every Viceroy who had since held office had shown a full appreciation of the duties which England owed to India in regard to its ancient monuments.

It was a very promising feature that monuments, which would otherwise have to be dug out in ruins perhaps 2,000 years hence were being now kept in such a state that the existing generation could enjoy their beauty. But equally important it seemed to him that the spirit of historical study was thereby being fostered in the Indian mind. No one had a greater admiration for the achievements due to the special Indian mentality than he had ; but he realized that as regards historical sense in viewing past events India had yet very much to learn before it reached European and American standards. The present system of the preservation of monuments, however, was acting as a big object-lesson to Indian students. He thought it of the greatest importance that educated Indians should devote themselves to the critical study of their country's great past. He looked forward to the time when there would be formed in India a school of archaeological and historical research.

He was glad to report that as far as the Native States were concerned the signs of promise were great. Only a short time ago he had been able to visit famous temple sites in the dominion of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, and he was most pleasantly surprised to see the care bestowed upon them on the part of the State officials. It seemed even as if a little more money were available there than was sometimes to be obtained for similar sites in British territory. He could also say the same about Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, who had shown all through the greatest personal interest in the safeguarding of the remains at Sanchi.

Of course, one could not expect from a District Officer, who was burdened with important obligations of a more pressing nature, that he should lay himself out to find the money for archaeological work. But he had never yet come across any British District Officer in India who was not prepared to do his best in order that the policy of preservation, once determined, should be effectively carried out.

In conclusion, the main point Sir Aurel Stein wished to emphasize was that it was a piece of very great good-fortune that Lord Curzon went out to India as a statesman prepared by his historical studies for understanding the past of more than one Oriental Empire, and that for six years he had had that full scope which a Viceroy's power could give in the days gone by. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. B. KRISHNA said that as a student of ancient Indian history he was

very much delighted to hear the paper. There could be no doubt in his opinion that they were most highly indebted to Lord Curzon for the initiation of the policy of preservation of monuments, since it was due to his inspiring ideal that students and scholars had been able to learn something definite and concrete of ancient Indian history. He had been to various places to see the work of the Survey for himself, and therefore could bear personal testimony to the fact that throughout the length and breadth of the country great efforts were being made for the preservation of Indian monuments. One thing which was in his mind above all others in regard to the scheme of preservation was—and those who had seen some of the relics and the excavations made would have found—that many of the statues and things had been, without absolute necessity, removed from their original places to the museums that had been established near the excavated areas. With regard to the well-known "Wheel of Law," represented by a monolithic stone of perfect beauty and polish in Sarnath, near Benares, he was sorry to see that one great specimen of Indian art which had stood in its place probably from a date previous to the Christian era had been removed to the museum, and some of the pieces had been broken as a result, so that it was not now so perfect as at the time of its excavation. The taking away of some of those specimens and installing them into museums, very often patched up with plaster, gave us no real idea of the things as they stood in the days of their construction. In Peshawar and other places it was a pity the statues had not been preserved in their original condition. Great expenditure, no doubt, would be required, because it was necessary that there should be some effective means to protect them, otherwise there would be the trouble of visitors taking away mementoes, and thus spoiling the appearance. As a student of history he again expressed his indebtedness to the Government for the useful work they had done from the year 1901. He was sure that during this period specimens of ancient art and culture had been brought more and more before the people of India, and undoubtedly a great impetus had been given to historical research by this policy of the preservation of monuments in India.

He thought there was great cause for them to be highly indebted, and for them to pay their tribute so far as they could in words, to the wise policy that had been initiated by Lord Curzon. (Hear, hear.)

Mrs. VILLIERS STUART said that it was a great pleasure to her to be present and to hear this paper on Indian Archaeology, and also to hear such a well-deserved tribute paid to Lord Curzon. During her two years' stay in India she had made a point of studying the old Indian gardens and garden-palaces, which interested her very much indeed. She would like to say, in support of what Sir Aurel Stein had just said, she thought this great service should appeal to all young Indians who cared for their country. She also thought that Indians should be members of the Surveys, and that it should not be left solely to English and Europeans to study the monuments of India, because with Europeans there was always the danger that their interest would be historical only, and that the living relation of the Indian monuments to the life of the country would be to a certain extent missed.

Lady MUTE MACKENZIE said that she had always been a great admirer of Lord Curzon as she followed his footsteps round all those wonderful restorations and preservations that he had had the privilege to bring about. She had not heard *Burmah* mentioned, however, but it was in *Burmah* more especially that Lord Curzon took a great interest. It was a country which was extraordinarily interesting. Before the war the Germans had managed to get a great many old and valuable Buddhist things smuggled out of the country. Personally, she had never seen anything more wonderful than the caves in India, and she was glad to be able to say that they also had been preserved in an excellent way, and perhaps the Ellora Caves were better preserved than any other monument she had had the pleasure of seeing in India. She was delighted to be able to add her small tribute to Lord Curzon's wonderful care of the ancient monuments of India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. S. DUTT, I.C.S., said that he would just like to say a few words from the point of view of a District Officer. Several speakers had referred to the work of a District Officer, especially with regard to the question of the preservation of monuments, so he felt that, being probably the only District Officer present at their meeting, he ought to say a word or two with regard to the matter.

It was quite true, as the chairman had pointed out, that India seemed less alive to the value of ancient monuments than any other people, but he believed that the widespread recognition of the importance of ancient monuments was one of comparatively recent growth. What had impressed him very much was a recent visit to Winchester and Christchurch Abbeys, of which the people of this country were justly proud. But even there he was given to understand, even in this great country where such great respect was paid to everything ancient, that pieces of sculpture had been systematically removed by relic-hunters until not very many years ago. That made him think that, after all, Indians were not the only ones to blame in that respect. It appeared to him that people of some religions were more given to conserving their ancient monuments than others. While in Japan last spring he noticed that, although their ancient monuments were mostly of wood, they had been kept in a beautiful state of preservation. And there had been no instances of vandalism there. The Buddhistic faith appeared specially to foster the spirit of conservation of monuments and relics.

To deal with the matter from the point of view of the District Officer. One of the speakers had rightly said that it was not always possible for a District Officer, with all the various duties he had to perform, to keep always in touch with the ancient monuments and to see to their preservation. They must remember, too, that a District Officer was not always a man who had the archaeological instinct, so as to be able to perceive which monuments were important and which were not. In his opinion the Archaeological Department should have sufficient activity in order to make inquiries as to the location of ancient monuments and to take the necessary steps for their preservation. From his experience in this connection in Bengal, he was under the impression that the department was very much understaffed, and

it was desirable that public opinion should insist on the department being strengthened. In that connection he thought that an opinion expressed by the East India Association would do incalculable good. There were many monuments waiting to be discovered and conserved, and if the department was strengthened in that way he thought they would soon see many more monuments conserved, thus carrying out the beneficent work of that great man of whom they had heard so much that afternoon. (Hear, hear.)

The HON. SECRETARY said that in the capacity of Secretary he wanted to say a few words. Although they had all been very much disappointed at the absence of Lord Curzon, he thought they would all agree it had been a great privilege to have heard Sir Aurel Stein, who was such a great expert authority on those matters, and on behalf of the Association he wished to thank Sir Aurel for the remarks he had made.

The chairman had laid great stress upon the educative value of the preservation of ancient monuments, and he thought it had a great deal to do with the growth of the spirit of nationality also. Surely one of the strongest elements of nationality was tradition, and one of the greatest traditions in a country was its ancient monuments. If nationality was a good thing, then the Government were doing a great work, of which Lord Curzon was the outstanding figure, in helping on that nationality in India.

There was another class of monuments of which they had not heard much—i.e., historical monuments, which were equally important. It had been his privilege under the inspiration of Lord Curzon to set a seal on two of them in a great historical district in the Madras Presidency, where many of the conflicts of early times took place—one at Arcot, and the other at a place whose right name was Vanduvási, and he thought that, apart from any other considerations, they ought to preserve for the sake of India alone the monuments of that connection between England and India, which he felt certain would endure for many years to come.

In conclusion, he had great pleasure in moving a hearty vote of thanks to the author of the paper, and also to their chairman for so generously undertaking such a task at the last moment.

Colonel YATE, in seconding the vote of thanks, said it had been a great disappointment that Lord Curzon was not able to be present, especially as he took such a great interest in the subject raised by the lecturer. Personally, he was glad to notice that the preservation of ancient sites was urged just as much as the preservation of ancient monuments, as he looked upon many of the ancient sites as being most valuable and likely to lead to the discovery of many extremely interesting and valuable things in the future.

The CHAIRMAN : I thank you all very much for that expression of thanks, which I know I do not deserve, because I could not at all adequately replace Lord Curzon on this occasion.

One piece of good news which we have to-day is that the Viceroy of India for the next five years will most likely be Lord Willingdon, and I trust we may expect from him a continuance of the policy of Lord Curzon for the preservation of ancient monuments. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings then terminated.

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The following letter has been received from Dr. Vogel :

LEIDEN (HOLLAND),
December 11, 1920.

DEAR SIR,

I am very much obliged to you for kindly sending me a proof of the discussion which followed the reading of my paper on "The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India." I have read it with great interest, and am extremely pleased to see that my friend, Sir Aurel Stein, was one of the first to take part in it. I wholly endorse the view expressed by him with regard to the necessity of greater prominence being given to historical studies in India. A central institute of historical research would do a vast amount of good.

Mrs. Villiers Stuart observed that Indians should be members of the Surveys, and that it should not be left solely to European scholars to study the monuments of India. In this respect there has been, indeed, a great change within the last ten years. Whereas previously the Superintendents of the Archaeological Survey were exclusively Europeans (with the only exception of Burma), now most of the posts—six out of the eight, I believe—are held by Indians. It is, no doubt, a matter of gratification that qualified Indians are forthcoming in sufficient numbers. At the same time I am strongly convinced that it will be in the interest of the work if Europeans too are allowed to take part in that great task of preservation and research. As Mrs. Villiers Stuart rightly observes, the European and the Indian scholar will study the monuments each from his own point of view. But I am sure that the best results will be obtained by co-operation of the two.

I strongly hope that in the future too the Government of India will be liberal enough not to exclude non-Britishers. The work done by Continental scholars in the past—I need only mention Sir Aurel Stein—would justify such a policy. I know from my own experience what an enormous benefit it is for a Sanskritist to spend a number of years in India in research work.

It is greatly to be wished that the Government of India may see its way to extend the staff of the Archaeological Survey. In the course of my work in India I have always very strongly felt how enormous a task had been put on the shoulders of a small band of workers. Mr. G. S. Dutt's impression that the Department is understaffed is perfectly true.

May I take the opportunity to remove a misunderstanding about the "Wheel of the Law" of Sarnath to which Mr. B. Krishna referred in the course of the discussion? That gentleman complains that the object in question, which he describes as "a monolithic stone of perfect beauty and polish," was removed to the local museum and consequently broken, "so that it was not now so perfect as at the time of its excavation." Let me say in explanation that the stone wheel in question must have belonged to the lion capital which once crowned the Asoka pillar of Sarnath. This magnificent monument, however, was ruthlessly destroyed by vandals, we don't know of what nationality or period. In any case, at the time of excavation in the early spring of 1905 it was found in an utter state of

ruin, only a stump of the shaft with part of the inscription (an edict against schismatics) being still *in situ*. The lion capital, which evidently had been hurled down from the top of the pillar, was completely defaced on one side. Of the stone wheel—the symbol of the Buddhist Law—which once surmounted it, only four small fragments were recovered. The ends of thirteen spokes remain on these pieces, their total number presumably having been thirty-two (*vide* D. R. Sahni's Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath, Calcutta, 1914, p. 28).

I may add that it is a general principle adopted by the Archaeological Department never to remove any images or other objects which have been found *in situ* and can be preserved *in situ* without risk of loss or deterioration. Unfortunately this is comparatively seldom the case. Mr. B. Krishna mentions Peshawar. But anyone familiar with conditions on the Frontier knows that to leave Buddhist sculptures there in the open would mean their utter ruin. I need only refer to the sad case of Shahr-i-Bahlol quoted towards the end of my paper (p. 27).

The patching up of stone sculptures by means of plaster, to which Mr. Krishna very rightly objects, was for a time practised in the Indian Museum, but, as far as I know, has now been abandoned.

Let me conclude by giving expression to my sincere thanks to the chairman who took Lord Curzon's place, and to you, sir, for kindly reading my paper.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

J. PH. VOGEL.

THE RUPEE AGAIN LINKED WITH SILVER

BY SIR JAMES WILSON, K.C.S.I.

A RUPEE, which weighs 180 grains (one tola), contains 165 grains of silver, and a sovereign, which weighs 123 grains, contains 113 grains of gold; so that, were it not for legislative interference, the rate of exchange between the rupee and the sovereign would naturally be determined by the relation between the value in exchange for other commodities of 165 grains of silver as compared with 113 grains of gold. For nearly a century up to the outbreak of war in 1914, gold was freely coined into sovereigns at the London Mint, and, as an ounce of gold makes with the alloy 4·25 sovereigns, and there were before the war no restrictions on movements of gold or of sovereigns, the price of gold almost everywhere in the world could not vary from 4·25 sovereigns to the ounce by much more than the cost of transporting gold or sovereigns from one country to the other; and a price quoted in British pence really meant so many 240th parts of the value of the gold in a sovereign. Up to the year 1893 silver was freely coined into rupees at the Indian mints, and there were no restrictions on movements of silver; so that almost everywhere a rupee was then worth in exchange almost exactly the value of the 165 grains of silver it contained, with small variations limited by the cost of transporting silver or rupees from one country to another. Till 1893, therefore, the value of the rupee in terms of the sovereign depended upon the world ratio between gold and silver—that is to say, on the number of ounces of fine silver that would exchange for an ounce of fine gold. This ratio varied from time to time according to

the relation between the demand and supply of silver and the demand and supply of gold. For many years previous to 1873 the world ratio between gold and silver remained in the neighbourhood of 15·5 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold, and the quoted price of standard silver in London remained in the neighbourhood of the corresponding rate of 60·8d. per ounce. British standard silver is 925 fine—that is to say, 1,000 ounces of standard silver contain 925 ounces of fine silver—so that this London price of standard silver meant a price of 65·7d. per fine ounce. At that rate the value in gold of the 165 grains of silver contained in a rupee coin was in London 22·6d., and the exchange value of the rupee, though it fluctuated slightly from year to year, remained in the neighbourhood of that figure, not far short of 2s. to the rupee; so that it became a general idea that the rupee was worth about one-tenth of a £, which would make it worth 11·3 grains of gold.

About 1873 Germany's demonetization of silver, and the action taken in America and other countries, led to a sudden increase in the world's demand for gold and diminution in the world's demand for silver. This caused a rapid fall in the gold value of silver, until in 1902 an ounce of gold would buy 39 ounces of silver (instead of 15·5), and the price of standard silver in London fell to 24·1d. per ounce, at which rate the value in London of 165 grains of silver was only 9d. instead of 22·6d. During the first part of this period, while the Indian mints remained open and the rupee was thus still linked with silver, the exchange value of the rupee necessarily fell with the fall in value of the 165 grains of silver contained in it, until in 1892 the rupee was worth only 15d. instead of the traditional rate of 24d. In 1893, however, the Indian mints were closed to the free coinage of silver, and for some years practically no addition was made to the number of rupee coins in existence, while the demand for them increased with the growth of India's prosperity and trade; so that the value in exchange of the rupee coin was no

longer determined by the value of the 165 grains of silver contained in it, but, after falling to 13d. in 1894, steadily increased until it was stabilized at 1s. 4d. per rupee, or 15 rupees to the sovereign, at which rate it remained until after the outbreak of war, although the value of the silver contained in it went down to less than 9d. in 1909. The closing of the mints had thus resulted in unlinking the rupee from silver; and the success of the action taken to stabilize the rate of exchange at 1s. 4d. meant that the rupee was now a token coin, linked with gold at the rate of 15 rupees to the sovereign, or 7.53 grains of gold to the rupee.

When war broke out, many Governments took steps to collect as much gold as possible, prohibited the export of gold, and issued paper money in large quantities, with the result that the value of their paper units of currency fell much below the value of the gold coins which they nominally represented. (For instance, in the United Kingdom on November 17, 1920, the price of gold in London was, in British paper currency, 118.8s., that is, £5.94 per ounce, and, as an ounce of fine gold makes with the alloy 4.25 sovereigns, this means that the British paper pound was on that day worth only .715 of the gold in a sovereign.) India has from time immemorial been an absorber of the precious metals, and during the four years ending with March 31, 1914, absorbed 88 million sovereigns' worth of gold—nearly one-fourth of the world's production for those four years. The war and the action taken by various Governments, including her own, greatly restricted the import of gold into India, and, during the five years of war conditions, her absorption of gold was only 30 million sovereigns' worth, whereas, had war not broken out, she would probably have absorbed during those five years something like 100 million sovereigns' worth of gold. Being thus starved of gold, the people of India demanded a great increase in the import of silver, and ultimately forced the Government to import immense quantities of silver and coin it into rupees. The Govern-

ment found itself compelled to take steps to meet this demand, because it had greatly increased its issue of paper currency and locked up its currency and gold standard reserves to a large extent in securities, which, owing to the war, could not be realized except at a serious loss ; so that in order to maintain the convertibility of its paper currency, it had to issue rupees to meet the demand. In the year ending March 31, 1919, the Government of India imported 236 million ounces of silver, while the world's new production in that year was less than 200 million ounces. This excessive demand of India for silver, together with the demand from other countries, led to a very rapid rise in the world price of silver measured in gold, and on January 31, 1920, the price of silver in New York was 133 cents per ounce, as compared with the average price in 1913 of 60 cents—that is to say, on that date an ounce of gold would only command in New York 15·5 ounces of silver, whereas in 1913 it commanded 34 ounces. On the same date, the quoted price of standard silver in London was 83d. per ounce, while in 1913 the average price was 27·6d. ; but a penny in 1913 meant the $\frac{1}{240}$ part of the gold in a sovereign, whereas a penny in 1920 means only the $\frac{1}{240}$ part of a British paper pound. On the same day gold sold in London at 117s. per ounce ; so that in London on that day the ratio between gold and silver was 15·7 to 1—or practically the same as in New York.

During the war and for some time after the armistice, while the import of gold into India was severely restricted, and silver was imported in immense quantities, the value of gold measured in silver or in rupees naturally rose very rapidly, with little regard to the ratio between them in the world outside ; and in the beginning of September, 1919, gold was selling in Bombay at 32·3 rupees per tola of 180 grains (5·6 grains to the rupee), which would give the price of the 113 grains of fine gold contained in a sovereign as 20·2 rupees, while before the war the price of gold remained practically constant at about 23·9 rupees to the tola (7·5

grains to the rupee), and the price of the sovereign was 15 rupees. In September, 1919, the Government of India began to sell considerable quantities of gold in the open market, with the effect of bringing down the price of gold by January 19, 1920, to about 27 rupees per tola (6·7 grains to the rupee), which would make the price of the 113 grains contained in a sovereign 17 rupees.

On February 2, 1920, the Secretary of State made the momentous announcement that he would aim at giving the rupee (which would remain unlimited legal tender) a fixed value in exchange of one rupee for 11·3 grains of fine gold—that is, one-tenth of the gold content of the sovereign—that the sovereign would be made a legal tender in India at the ratio of 10 rupees (instead of 15 rupees) to one sovereign—that the import and export of gold would soon be freed from Government control—that Government would no longer be liable to give rupees for sovereigns—that the prohibition on the private import and export of silver would be removed in due course—and that the import duty on silver would be repealed unless the fiscal position demanded its retention. This announcement had an immediate effect in greatly reducing the price of gold in India expressed in rupees, and at the Government sale of gold on March 3 the price obtained fell to 18·8 rupees per tola (equivalent to 11·8 rupees per 113 grains), but it soon rose again, and on April 7 the average price obtained was 22·6 rupees per tola (equivalent to 14·2 rupees per 113 grains). Although the price in rupees of gold bullion fell for a time much below the rate of 15 rupees for 113 grains, the value of the sovereign coin could not fall much below that level because the sovereign was then still legal tender for 15 rupees, to which rate it fell by February 19.

After the announcement of the Secretary of State's new currency policy on February 2, the price of standard silver in London rose from 83d. per ounce on January 31 to the record price of 89·5d. on February 11; but at the same time the price of gold in London rose from 117s. to 123s.

per ounce, and the ratio between gold and silver in London changed only from 15·7 to 15·2 between those dates ; and the price of silver in New York measured in cents per ounce remained practically steady at about 133 cents (a ratio of 15·5 to 1), so that it seems clear that the rise in the London quoted price of standard silver was not due to the Secretary of State's announcement, but to the fall in the value of British paper currency which took place between those dates, the rate of exchange on New York having fallen from 350·5 cents per £ on January 31 to 337 cents per £ on February 11. The London rate of exchange on Calcutta (which is now expressed in paper pence per rupee) rose in accordance with the rise in the quoted price of silver (which is also expressed in paper pence per standard ounce), and became closely knit with the value of 165 grains of silver as quoted in London. On February 2 the value in paper pence of 165 grains of silver, according to the London quotation, was 31·5, and the London rate of exchange on Calcutta was 31·8. By February 11 the corresponding price in London of 165 grains of fine silver was 33·3d., and the rate of exchange on Calcutta had also risen to 33·1d.

On June 20, 1920, the Government of India announced that as from June 21 the restrictions over imports of gold bullion would be removed ; that sovereigns would cease for the time to be legal tender ; that after July 12, the restrictions over imports of British gold coins would also be withdrawn ; and that they would submit a bill prescribing the new ratio of 1 sovereign to 10 rupees, at which the sovereign would again become legal tender. Accordingly since July 12, 1920, there has been no restriction on the import into India of either gold or silver bullion or sovereigns. (On September 15, the Legislative Council passed the Indian Coinage Act, fixing the legal tender value of the sovereign in India as 10 rupees.) On July 21, 1920, at the Government sale of gold, the average price obtained was 22·1 rupees per tola (equivalent to 8·1

grains to the rupee, or 13·9 rupees per 113 grains), and on the same day the bazaar price of Calcutta Mint gold was also quoted at 22·1 rupees per tola. Since then the bazaar price of gold has gone steadily up, until on October 27 it was quoted at 27 rupees per tola (equivalent to 6·7 grains per rupee, or 17 rupees per 113 grains). As before the war the rupee was worth 7·5 grains of gold, and 15 rupees bought a sovereign containing 113 grains, it follows that on October 27 the rupee in India was worth less in gold and worth a smaller fraction of the gold in a sovereign than it was before the war. Although the Secretary of State has announced his policy to be that of fixing the rupee at 11·3 grains of gold, its value in India has gone down from 8·1 grains on July 21 to 6·7; and although the Legislative Council have fixed the legal tender value of the sovereign at 10 rupees, anyone in India can now melt a sovereign and get about 17 rupees for the gold in the bazaar.

If a comparison be made between the quotations given on any day in New York, London, and Calcutta, and they be reduced to terms of fine gold and fine silver, it will be found that, within small variations limited by the cost of transporting gold or silver from one country to the other, the following conditions now prevail—viz.:

1. The rates of exchange are only to a small extent affected by the balance of trade.

2. The ratio between gold and silver is practically the same in each of the three countries.

3. The price of free gold bullion in London quoted in paper shillings rises or falls in exact accordance with the fall or rise in the value of the British paper pound quoted in United States dollars.

4. The price of gold and silver bullion in Calcutta closely corresponds with the price of gold and silver bullion quoted in New York and London.

5. The value of a rupee in gold in Calcutta is now practically the same as it is in London.

6. The value of a rupee, whether measured in gold or in British paper currency, is nearly the same as the value of 165 grains of fine silver.

In other words, the rupee is now as closely linked with silver as it was before the closing of the Indian mints, and shows no indication of becoming linked with gold.

For instance, on October 27 silver bullion was quoted in Bombay at 115 rupees per 100 tolas, which means that a rupee would only buy 157 grains of fine silver ; whereas so late as June 16 it bought in Calcutta 199 grains of silver. The London prices of gold and of the rupee on October 27 mean that on that day a rupee would buy in London 6·6 grains of fine gold, and in Bombay on the same day a rupee would buy 6·7 grains of gold, and 165 grains of silver would buy 7 grains of gold ; so that, measured in gold, the rupee was actually worth less in India than the 165 grains of silver contained in it. (On October 23 it was reported from Calcutta that nearly four million rupee coins had been exported to China to be melted down into ingots.) On November 17, 1920, when gold was quoted in London at 118·8s. per ounce, this meant that the British paper pound was on that day worth only ·715 of the gold in a sovereign. On the same day the rate of exchange on New York was 345 cents to the £. This gives the value of the British paper pound in New York as ·711 of a sovereign. Again on that day silver was quoted in London at 51·4d. per standard ounce, and if from these quotations the ratio of gold to silver in London be calculated, it will be found that it was 25·6 to 1. On the same day in New York foreign silver bullion was quoted at 78·8 cents per fine ounce, which gives the ratio in New York as 26·2. In London the rate of exchange on Calcutta was 19·5d. per rupee, and if this be compared with the quoted price of silver, it means that a rupee was valued in London as the equivalent of 168 grains of fine silver. On November 20 the London quotations were: Gold, 5·92 paper pounds per fine ounce ; silver, 49 paper pence per standard ounce, 925 fine ;

exchange on Calcutta, 18·8 paper pence per rupee. These quotations mean that on that day in London the paper pound was valued at 7·18 of the gold in a sovereign ; that a rupee would buy in London 6·35 grains of fine gold ; that 165 grains of fine silver would exchange for 6·16 grains of fine gold ; and that the rupee valued at 18·8 paper pence was, measured in gold, worth only 13·5d., as compared with the 16d. it was worth before the war, and the 24d. measured in gold aimed at by the Secretary of State ; while 165 grains of fine silver were worth 13·1d. measured in gold.

The accompanying statement gives the value of the rupee measured in gold, (1) according to the average of the quotations for the year 1913, (2) on January 31, 1920, immediately before the announcement of the Secretary of State's new currency policy, (3) on October 27, 1920, and (4) according to the policy aimed at by the Secretary of State.

No one can foretell what will be the future ratio between gold and silver ; but on the whole it seems probable that the gold price of silver will continue to fall for some time to come, partly because India, being now able to obtain all the gold she wants, and having imported an immense quantity of silver during the last five years, is unlikely to want much more silver, and may possibly become an exporter of that metal, and partly because the famine from which China is now suffering is likely to lessen the demand of that country for silver, and may possibly lead to it also becoming an exporter. In any case the facts remain that an ounce of gold now buys about 25 ounces of silver, as compared with 34 ounces in 1913 ; that 165 grains of fine silver are now worth less than 7 grains of gold ; that the value of the rupee tola measured in gold now follows closely that of the 165 grains of silver contained in it, and is therefore at present worth less than 7 grains of gold and likely to fall in gold value. It seems that the Secretary of State has set the Government of India an impossible task when he has

required them to aim at stabilizing the value of the rupee at 113 grains of gold. India will be fortunate if her Government succeed in stabilizing the rupee at the pre-war rate of 7.5 grains of gold, which would again keep the rupee stabilized at 15 to the sovereign, or 16d. to the rupee measured in gold (equivalent to 1s. 10d. in present paper currency). Even that will be difficult to secure, because there are now in existence something like 4,000 million rupee coins, each of which is at present worth as bullion less than 7 grains of gold.

VALUE OF THE RUPEE MEASURED IN GOLD AND SILVER.

	In 1913	On 31st January, 1920.	On 27th October, 1920.	Aimed at by the Secretary of State.
Value of the pound sterling in grains of gold	113	82	82	—
Value of the pound sterling as a percentage of the sovereign	100	72	72	—
Value of the sovereign (113 grains of gold) in rupees :				
In London	15	11.9	17	10
In India	15	17	17	10
Value of the rupee in grains of gold :				
In London	7.5	9.6	6.6	11.3
In India	7.5	6.7	6.7	11.3
Value of the rupee in pence sterling : In London	16	28	19.4	—
Value of the rupee in pence measured in gold : In London	16	20	14	24
Value of the rupee in grains of silver :				
In London	258	149	165	—
In India	258	157	157	—
Value of 165 grains of fine silver :				
In grains of gold in London	4.8	10.6	6.6	—
In grains of gold in India	4.8	7.0	7.0	—
In rupees in London	0.64	1.1	1.0	—
In rupees in India	0.64	1.05	1.05	—
Ratio of gold to silver :				
In New York	34	15.5	25.7	—
In London	34	15.7	25.2	—
In India	34	23.5	23.5	—

November 23, 1920.

COMMERCIAL SECTION

THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION

By SIR ROBERT A. HADFIELD, BART., F.R.S.

THE world in general, and this country not least amongst nations, urgently needs increased production of commodities—not for the enrichment of the few, but to save from privation the many, to pay off the debts of the community, and refill the exhausted store cupboards of the nation. That surely cannot be accomplished by any “levy on capital,” which simply means a reduction in our capacity to produce. We must meet the interest and pay off our debts out of revenue, or lower the standard of life for everyone. That is the point that we need to make clear always when advocating increased production: that it is vital to the life of the people, and without it the standard of living cannot be raised, but must, indeed, inevitably fall.

We want real plenty—not mere money; we want goods, not paper; bread, not Bradburys.

The nation needs increased capacity for output per head of population and per square foot of factory space. She needs decreased cost per unit of production; decreased coal consumption per unit of production; increased production of wealth per ton of coal used; decreased expenditure on transport; reduced cost of building. She needs all this, but with a decrease of strain on the workers rather than an increase, especially as judged by the fierce standard of work in war-time—or even by the standard of a pre-war people unaffected by the nervous fatigue that is war's almost

universal aftermath—and consequently able to produce, with less expenditure of energy, more than can reasonably be expected to-day. But all these things can be ensured if mutual trust and co-operation can be established between all ranks engaged in industry.

If only all workers could be brought to realize, as many of their leaders already realize, that "you cannot distribute what is not produced"; that, this being so, the great concern of organized labour should be, first, to co-operate in and encourage by every means the increased production at decreased cost of necessities and of commodities for export to pay for the necessities we cannot economically produce at home—commodities for export of a quality and at a price that can compete in the world's markets; then to secure that production with a minimum of physical effort, under the most hygienic conditions of working; and, finally, to see to the equitable distribution of the fruits of those efforts. If they could but grasp firmly, once and for all, the fact that limitation of output below demand is a crime against the community, against their fellows and their own wives and families, as well as themselves; and if they could be brought to recognize the fact that increased output (and consequently increased real earnings) in all industries means increased demand for every class of goods in exchange for all other classes of goods, and consequently an improved standard of living all round—why, then the financial burden under which the whole community is now staggering and groaning would be borne more easily and diminished more speedily than many could believe possible.

This happy consummation would be hastened if it were known and recognized generally that increased production of wealth, increased output per head of population, and decreased cost per unit of production, are all obtainable, not by the sweating of labour, not by undue hours of toil, but concurrently with reasonable hours of labour properly and honestly employed, paid for by wages of higher real value than ever before enjoyed in this country. That this is so,

facts will help to reveal, and by so doing help to hasten the happy consummation we all desire of industry, peace, and prosperity.

The desirable condition of high real wages earned in short hours of working can only be provided by high production per head employed. Anyone who believes the contrary has yet to learn the A B C of economics, and there are employers as well as employees who do so.

The most serious obstacle to the full acceptance by the workers in this country of these fundamental economic truths, which have been accepted and acted upon by the workers in the United States, is undoubtedly the fear that all-round increased production per employee will lead to all-round unemployment. The very opposite is the truth, in spite of isolated cases that appear to show the fear to be well grounded. Restricted production per employee means either increased cost per unit produced or reduced wages per employee. *Ex nihilo nihil fit* (Out of nothing, nothing)—that is an inexorable law. Therefore, the combination of high nominal wages with low individual output—which is what so many misguided men honestly regard as an ideal state of affairs—means, must mean, unduly high cost of production, with consequent reduced sales in both home and foreign markets, and so directly makes for unemployment. We see this plainly at this moment in the motor industry, the boot trade, and elsewhere. The trouble in those trades is not production in excess of normal demand, but cost above capacity to purchase, because short production in other trades has brought about inflation of prices, and so actual demand is far below normal.

There is plenty of latent demand everywhere now for boots and motor cars, but there is not a sufficient supply of other goods wherewith to barter for them. That is the crux of the whole situation. You cannot buy goods with paper that does not represent other goods.

There is a world-hunger for manufactured goods and raw materials, a world-hunger for houses, that can only be

satisfied by the production of those necessities. There is work enough in sight to be done in the next generation to give full employment to every man capable of work and willing to work diligently and with his heart in it, and there need be no long hours or overtime rush. All that is wanted is a recognition of the need for steady, earnest, competent work all round. But if "low production for high wages" is to be the policy adopted, then unemployment and destitution will march through the land, and the truth, the inexorable truth, of the economic laws of nature will be taught to us by suffering and strife that are as unnecessary as they are undesirable.

We still live by the consumption or exchange of the work of our hands and brains. Money, whether coin or paper, is only the token, and is of value only in so far as it represents goods or services obtainable. To have, man must produce or have produced.

The first essential to increased productivity with decreased physical effort per employee, at decreased cost per unit, is the organization and training of labour—that is, the employment of brains (without which neither capital nor labour can effectually operate) to direct, economize, and render more fruitful the brawn of the manual worker. This implies the adoption of scientific instead of haphazard management, the careful planning and direction of all details of all operations, the elimination of all unnecessary exertion, and the education of the worker so that he may the more intelligently carry out the plans of his director, and ultimately, perhaps, himself become a director of others. The manual worker needs training and coaching to enable him to produce the maximum result with the minimum of fatigue and risk of accident, just as much as the golfer, the oarsman, the boxer—in short, every athlete—needs his trainer and coach. The "obvious way" of doing almost everything involving muscular exertion is, with nearly everybody, the most fatiguing and least successful. This is a strange truth that needs to be acted upon as thoroughly

in industry as it is in sport. The inexperienced and thoughtless many need to be trained by the experienced, observant, and thoughtful few.

The second essential to increased and cheapened production is the conservation and development of human energy. This can be secured through the elimination of undue fatigue by its better direction and training, as already suggested; through the improvement of health resulting from purer air within and without the workshop, from increased sunlight, and from better food due to canteens in the works and modern kitchens in the home; and through the existence of more attractive homes leading to the better use of leisure. "Sewing machines and gas stoves," we are told, "have done more to emancipate women than all the preachers"—and such emancipation of the woman means increased comfort and pleasure for her man.

Production can further be increased and reduced in cost per unit by the increased employment of mechanical energy for augmenting human energy. How much longer is it to be the fact, which the census of production revealed, that the United States of America employ three times the brake-horse-power *per capita*, and get an output *per capita* three times greater than we do here in Britain, the birth-place of steam power?

But if we are to increase, and increase enormously, our use of mechanical power, it behoves us the more carefully to study how to make the best use of our wasting stock of stored-up energy, our coal-supply. And that renders all the more imperative the consideration of the fourth means for increasing and cheapening our productivity—namely, the universal adoption of modern methods of obtaining heat and power, which would result in cheaper factory construction, economy of space in factory utilization, increased speed and reliability of output, and decreased consumption of fuel per unit of production.

It may be interesting to add a few words about the present situation.

We must all try to realize that not Europe alone, not America only, but the whole world, has during the last few years passed through a crisis unexampled and unprecedented in its history. After such a cataclysm—and it has been nothing less—the marvel is that matters are not much worse; but bad they are: we must recognize this and act accordingly.

The destruction of material and financial wealth and property has been simply on an enormous scale, one which some of us do not appear to realize. The old proverb says "Waste not, want not," but we have not only wasted, but done this on a gigantic scale—consequently the want period has been reached.

I well remember how we all considered the cost of the South African War, probably some three hundred millions at* told, to be enormous, and long articles were written at the time to show how many years must elapse before we recovered. The world-wide war has, however, cost the world, even at a low estimate, from no less than 120 to 150 times the amount of the capital lost in the South African trouble, and with attendant disorganization on a terribly large scale of the social life and environment of the individual.

During the war we denied ourselves many things to ensure victory. Whilst it is admitted that the subject of economy is not altogether a pleasant one, nevertheless, sooner or later, we must face the inevitable and economize or go entirely to pieces, so why not now and at once? The world has been spending more than it had accumulated. Certainly not one of the "isms," whether Socialism, Bolshevism, and the many other nostrums offered to us, will meet the difficulty of the situation. They are all of the "thimble-rigging" order, of trying to make water flow uphill, of extracting gold from sea-water, and the like.

The world is full of riches beyond the dream of avarice, but at present there are, alas! too many forming the body corporate amongst us who, as Prior says, "neither know to spin nor care to toil." They are like those who pass by a

gold-mine in which the rich quartz is apparent by the millions of tons. They know if they put their backs into it, if they will but toil, those millions of tons of ore containing the precious metal which is so useful in the world's system of economy can be extracted. They know, too, that the ore must be extracted, must be crushed, and must be treated by many laborious processes, all involving work, before it is of any value. Without the work, without the toil, without the science, the ore remains useless, but with these carried out the precious metal is won. But, alas! many amongst us prefer to pass almost entirely by, or, under some of the new, foolish, present theories, say that it is only necessary to extract sufficient of the ore to enable a mere existence to be eked out, with serious harm to the body politic. If they—and I refer to all classes—would produce and work on the same lines as those prevailing before the war, comfort and prosperity would rapidly follow. In saying this it is not for one moment urged that better conditions should not come into operation or that reasonable rights of work or wages should not be granted—quite the contrary; but it is obvious that the proposal to produce less, and still less—which will only leave us poor—is certainly not the way to remedy our present troubles. Such a line of thought simply shows crass stupidity.

There is plenty and ample work for us all to go round for years and years to come. There need be no talk of bad trade, of want of work, if the worker of all classes, whether in the highest or lowest ranks, would but each do his share. I am convinced that until this is realized not only will there be no general improvement, but matters will go from bad to worse, and that unless changed views come about civilization may be threatened. Revolutionary ideas flourish when misery and want prevail. It rests with ourselves whether we will have these conditions prevail or not. They need not, but they cannot be improved or prevented unless we follow the sacred dictum, "Neither shall a man eat unless he will work," and this applies from the lowest to the highest amongst us.

COFFEE

BY E. H. WATSON

IN writing an article on coffee for the ASIATIC REVIEW one ought, perhaps, to write particularly of Asiatic coffee, but as the product is grown in almost every tropical country, it is nearly impossible not to trespass on other continents.

The recognized birthplace of coffee is generally agreed to have been the province of Coffa, in Abyssinia, where it grows indigenous, and from which it takes its name.

Botanists have bestowed much care and study on the coffee-tree and have discovered about sixty different species distributed through the various countries, most differentiations of which are probably due to variations of soil, climate, elevation, and system followed in the cultivation. It is estimated that 75 per cent. of the coffee produced in the world is grown in Brazil, and even there, although it is most likely that all the coffee-trees sprang from the same source, the botanists have discovered no less than seventeen different varieties. The climate best adapted for producing large crops should be hot and damp. It thrives best in tropical regions, and cannot be advantageously cultivated where the thermometer ever falls below 55°. Naturally, the soil and climate are determining factors in both quality and quantity. Coffee which is high grown is not so prolific, but is generally of better grade and flavour.

From Abyssinia coffee was transplanted to Arabia, and thus we get Mocha. Dutch merchants are credited with introducing coffee into Java as early as 1650; some years later it was carried into India and Ceylon.

The tree itself presents a bushy appearance, and is well foliated with a somewhat long, pointed leaf of a rich green colour. It grows sometimes to the height of fifteen feet, is symmetrically planted and carefully attended. The blossoming-time of the plant shows it at its most attractive stage, and when the trees are in full bloom they exhibit a

most beautiful spectacle. The white aromatic flowers of a small jasmin shape grow in circular clusters round the base of rich green leaves, calling to mind myriads of diminutive wreaths. The blooms last but a day, and the fruit quickly appears, which from its size and colour resembles a cherry, and is known to the grower by that name. It develops through various shades of green, orange, and red to a rich deep crimson. The "cherry" is in reality a pod, which when opened contains two berries; these are actually the commercial coffee-beans. Each berry is covered with a thin brittle skin called a parchment, inside which and next the berry is another thin silvery skin (the silver skin), that in Mysore being particularly noticeable. Occasionally the "cherry" may contain only one bean, which on account of the available space becomes almost globular, being then known as "peaberry." This peaberry was for many years regarded as the male bean, a theory which has now been disproved.

Mocha coffee, although called after the port from which it is shipped, is grown many miles inland, and is harvested in a very careful manner. When the fruit is ripe a cloth is spread under the bush, which is shaken with caution so that only the ripe "cherries" fall. The preparation (husking, drying, etc.) is primitive, being entirely done by hand, a very slow and tedious process when compared with the pulping and sizing machinery used on large estates in South and Central America. It is generally understood that the choice berries (semi-transparent) are carefully selected and intended for the use of the important personages of the Mohammedan faith.

Coffee was first noticed in Ceylon in a wild state, but was not thought to be indigenous. In 1834 it was cultivated on plantation lines and proved so successful that it became a large and valuable export business until 1870. Unfortunately in that year a fungoid growth attacked the trees, and continued to devastate them to such an extent that the quantity shipped gradually decreased until some ten or twelve years ago it ceased entirely. As soon as cultivators realized this disease to be incurable, they devoted the estates to the planting of tea, rubber, and cocoa. So

complete consequently has been the turnover of coffee-producing land to these other commodities that the identical marks that distinguished the former are now as firmly established as descriptive of the latter.

The Indian coffee berry is distinguished by its shortened, rounded appearance; it might almost be described as a plump berry. Of all the Indian growths Mysore is in greatest demand in England. The berry is distinguished by a silvery, diaphanous coating, which when roasted falls from it, and forms no integral part of the liquor. Naidabatom, Neilgherry, and Travancore are all well-known coffee-producing districts, although tea is encroaching on the two last-named regions.

Java coffee, unlike other varieties, is not generally put on the market in New Crop condition. It is almost unique from the fact of being stored for several years before use. When gathered, this coffee is retained in specially prepared and ventilated warehouses for generally five or six years or even longer. During this time it is subjected to the ravages of an insect of the weevil species, which bores into the bean and gives it quite a worm-eaten appearance; time also affects its colour, transforming it from a bluish-grey to a dull sienna-brown. After retention for this period the coffee is roasted and ground, the weevil, of course, included. This animal matter infuses into the liquor a peculiar fleshy flavour highly appreciated by the Dutch, but not at all favoured in this country. Another type of tree cultivated in Java and Sumatra, known as "Robusta," has of recent years been heavily planted; it produces a more prolific crop than ordinary coffee, and generally on account of its low price finds a ready market in Europe and America. This is not subjected to the conditions mentioned above, but is shipped and sold as soon as possible. The term "Java" includes the produce of all the East Indian Islands.

There are two ways of preparing coffee for the market. The old-fashioned method was the dry method, in which the "cherries" were spread on a hard surface (generally cement) in thin layers, fully exposed to the sun, and frequently raked over. It was then pounded by hand and

the berries sifted from the husks. In the modern up-to-date plantations, the wet system with tank and machinery is usual. The "cherries" are picked and immersed in a tank of water in which the blighted and unripe pods float and are taken off; the sound fruit sinks, and the water is then drawn off, the wet mass being put in the pulping machine. This machine is so called on account of reducing the pod or cherry to pulp, allowing the beans to pass through holes arranged for that purpose. They are then placed in another bath and thoroughly cleansed from any covering matter still adhering to them. The process of drying then takes place. There are many methods, elaborate and simple. In some cases trays of berries are spread out by hand and laid in the sun until dry. On large estates a system of mechanical transport has been instituted, moving floors are run on rails in and out of shelters as the weather dictates. The final stage of freeing the bean from parchment and silver skin is now arrived at. This "peeling" is achieved when the bean is bone dry, by "rolling" it in order to crack the crisp parchment, which is then dispersed by winnowing.

The berry is now ready to be packed in bags for export, and when it arrives in England is bonded and sampled ready for public auction. It is always put on the market in a raw state, but during sale negotiations samples are drawn and roasted, and the liquor tasted by experts. It is then distributed to the trade, still in a raw condition. The operation of roasting becomes quite an individual matter calling for great skill and intelligence; it is almost entirely on this "final touch" that the success of the liquor depends. Acquaintance with the character of the water of the locality determines the necessity for high or low roasting, and here the individual tradesman's knowledge or ignorance is put to the test. Possibly a better acquaintance with this branch would popularize coffee more in England.

The consumption of coffee in the United Kingdom being so small in comparison with that of Continental nations, it will be seen that the quantity exported from London will in a general way greatly exceed the home consumption. Of course, during the war the export trade was dislocated,

as all exports had to be licensed and the permission of Government officials was not always easily obtained. Whether their refusal was in every case a misfortune is difficult to say. Some cautious exporters might perhaps think it wiser to keep their coffee than sell it and have to wait a long time before receiving payment.

The writer, having spent most of his business life as a coffee expert in the market in Mincing Lane, is at times filled with amazement that the consumption of this very stimulating as well as refreshing beverage should not be much larger. Recent returns established the fact that three times as many pounds weight of coffee are annually produced in the coffee-growing countries of the world as there are pounds weight of tea in India, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and elsewhere; and yet, whilst the British public annually consume 8 or 9 lbs. of tea per head, their consumption of coffee is under 1½ lbs. per head, whilst our next-door neighbours in Holland are said to take 18 lbs. per head, and our American cousins 11 lbs. per head. There must be some reason why the consumption in the United Kingdom is so far behind that of these two other countries. Some say that it is because the cup of tea is more quickly prepared than a cup of coffee, but that must be because the good housewife does not practice the art sufficiently. To attend any social function will amply prove that if a choice of either tea or coffee is offered, at least one-half of the company will take coffee.

Coffee-houses in their historical aspect and flourishing as they did in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in this country could form an ample subject by themselves. The first mentioned is in 1632 at St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill. It was kept by a servant of a Turkey merchant, to whom his master deputed the task of satisfying awaking curiosity on the subject of the new beverage. The scorn aroused by the "sooty drink" was at first withering: "Were it the mode," says one writer in 1663, "men would eat spiders."

But so universal and popular became the consumption of coffee among men that the houses developed into the greatest literary and political meeting-places of the age. Thus, says the *Tatler*, "foreign and domestic news you

will have from the St. James Coffee House." Devereux Court, Strand, rose especially to fame, from the fact of containing "Tom's" and "The Grecian," two mighty rivals in the time of Pope, Addison, Steel, Akenside, Goldsmith, Swift—all the erudite and lampooning lights scintillated daily and gaily in an atmosphere of coffee. Other human varieties also evinced a liking for these resorts, since—

"Some of all conditions,
Vintners, surgeons, and physicians,
The blind, the deaf, the aged cripple,
Do here resort and coffee tippie."

As early as Cromwell's time an interesting little entry records a man in St. Toolie Street (Tooley Street) "who is the only known man for making mills for grinding coffee powder, which are sold by him for forty to forty-five shillings the mill."

Even before the Restoration coffee must have achieved great popularity, for we find a satirist bemoaning:

"And now, alas, the drink has credit got,
And he's no gentleman that drinks it not."

Samuel Pepys evidently on occasions visited coffee-houses, as a record exists of a meeting with Mr. Moore at the King's Head, where the drink was sold. He does not appear to have said anything noteworthy on the subject; possibly his innate conservative snobbery would not allow him to openly countenance what was not thoroughly established in favour.

Gradually the coffee-houses declined from their social eminence and became merged into the ordinary refreshment-house, losing, we fear, all the wit that once illuminated them.

The consumption per head of population in the United Kingdom of the various non-alcoholic drinks, tea, coffee, cocoa, may be found fully set out in tabular form in a book published recently by Messrs. Bunting and Co., Ltd., produce brokers, of 23, Rood Lane, E.C. 3, entitled "Breakfast Beverages," which gives the annual consumption of each for the last seventy-nine years.

THE MOTOR EXHIBITION: CARS FOR EASTERN BUYERS

BY C. H. OLIVER

THIS year's Motor Exhibition, the fourteenth International Exhibition organized by the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, has far excelled in importance and size all previous ones, which points favourably to the increased activity and prosperity in the motor industry since the war. Incidentally it also proves the increase in the numbers of motor users, since, owing to modern competition, there is a car to meet the requirements of everyone. Altogether there were exhibited 236 different types at Olympia and the White City (which was utilized for the first time this year).

Nearly all the exhibits this year were exhaustively tested models, and there were far fewer newly designed and, one might almost say, experimental models. Production also is much more settled and secured, which encourages the purchaser to order at the Exhibition with every confidence of early, or at any rate punctual, delivery.

The enormous competition has had a tendency to slightly ease the price of cars, and one hopes that the price quoted will remain firm, and not, as last year, be increased almost immediately after the Exhibition is over and orders are booked.

The general trend of car design is still in favour of a four-cylinder engine with a monobloc casting and valves at the side, and to meet the requirements of the owner, and especially the lady driver, every car is fitted with an electric starter and dynamo equipment. Plate clutches, especially those of the single-plate type, seem to be superseding the

old type cone clutch, faced with leather or some other fabric, which used to require constant attention. The use of the four-speed gear box is now practically universal, except in the case of quite small cars. The larger types, however, of 40 horse-power and thereabouts are using engines of the six-cylinder type with overhead valves, and chassis with cantilever springs.

It is not possible in a short article of this nature to go into the details of all the vehicles shown, but one can mention a few representative of the different nations exhibiting, which comprised Great Britain, France, America, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, and that newest of nations, but by no means backward, Czecho-Slovakia.

Among the British exhibits, the Lanchester, one of the pioneers of car manufacturers, whose six-cylinder model stands almost unrivalled, deserves special attention.

Daimler cars, which stand out as characteristic specimens of the highest class of British engineering, show very few changes for 1921. I saw a very fine six-cylinder 45 horse-power Silent Knight, with cantilever springs and Lanchester worm-drive back-axle, fitted with a special saloon body beautifully finished inside with panelling and inlay work, built by the Graham White Company, to the order of an Indian Prince.

Another firm of the highest repute is Napier, who have been engaged on engineering for over a century. They have concentrated their whole efforts on a single model—namely, the 40 to 50 horse-power six-cylinder for home use, and a replica with special improvements to make it suitable for work abroad. This model is of an entirely new design, and the main principle is the reduction of weight by a lavish use of aluminium. The engine body is made of aluminium with steel liners and aluminium pistons, and develops a brake horse-power of ninety; but notwithstanding this considerable increase in power, the chassis only weighs 25 cwt. There will undoubtedly be a big demand for these

super-de-luxe cars in India, where the firm has already obtained a great reputation for reliability, and has a very large clientèle.

The Armstrong-Siddeley 29·5 horse-power six-cylinder, with a chassis price of £875, is a very fine piece of workmanship, and represents about the best value for money in the Exhibition. One of its leading features is, that there are only seven grease cups, oil-less bearings being used elsewhere.

The Wolseley Company produce a very fine Colonial model, 20 horse-power, six-cylinder, at a chassis price of £1,050. This car represents many years of experience, and has a minimum ground clearance of 10½ inches, and a specially large radiator for the tropics. This firm's association with Vickers gives them special facilities with regard to steel and other metals.

France's leading representative is undoubtedly the Renault firm with its normal type 22·4 horse-power four-cylinder engine. Its chief feature is its extreme simplicity of design and great accessibility. They also place on the market a six-cylinder model of 45 horse-power. I understand that this firm booked a private order for New Zealand for seventy-four cars, which speaks well for its reliability on rough roads.

The De Dion eight-cylinder 25 horse-power is a very fine piece of workmanship from that pioneer firm of motor manufacturers, and, in accordance with their long-standing reputation for mechanical trustworthiness, is of an orthodox and conservative design.

The Packard exhibit claims to be the acme of modern American automobile design. Their car, the Twin-Six, has a twelve-cylinder engine, made up of two blocks of six cylinders each, which gives a clean and well-finished unit, accessible, simple, and with a big reserve of power. With regard to its popularity I may say that there are 40,000 users in practically every part of the civilized world; and as to its reliability, it has performed the wonderful feat of

running from Tientsin a distance of 4,000 miles across the great Gobi Desert, to Umrichi, in Upper Turkestan. This company has recently opened up an agency in Delhi, and another at Bandoeng, Java, in the Dutch East Indies.

Among other American exhibits the Hudson Super-Six is worth noticing, as well as its smaller sister, the Essex, which has a four-cylinder engine. The Hudson has established a large number of speed records, and the fact that that connoisseur of cars, H.M. King Alfonso XIII., owns three, speaks very highly for it.

The Fiat chassis, which originates from Italy, has for a long time been recognized as one of the world's finest productions. Their factory at Turin during the war grew to the enviable position of the largest automobile factory in Europe, and turned out over 35,000 chassis for the Allies. Their six-cylinder 20 to 30 horse-power is eminently suitable for the hard road conditions experienced in the East, and has a minimum ground clearance of 10 inches.

Holland is very well represented by the Spiker Company, of Amsterdam, and their new 25 horse-power six-cylinder model, designed by Mr. Koolhoven, has several interesting features, chief of which is the gear operating device, which enables the veriest novice to change gear at any road or engine speed. This engine was tested in the hilly Black Forest on a run of some 5,000 miles in a chassis without a clutch, and a gear box giving only top gear and reverse,

Belgium, in spite of the havoc caused by the war, has made a wonderful industrial recovery, and the new six-cylinder 30 horse-power Minerva has many marked improvements over their old and already well-proved design of 1914.

The Metallurgique, 40 horse-power, one of her famed products, is a luxurious car built with a high degree of sturdiness for bad road conditions. It has very ample cooling arrangements, and a noticeable feature is the adjustable steering column to suit any driver, and the tyre pump incorporated in the gear box.

For those who desire a sporting car with a high turn of

speed and do not mind spending money, the Hispano Suiza offers very great attractions. The chassis price is £2,350. This car has a great supporter in its own country in H.M. King Alfonso XIII. of Spain. It is fitted with a 37 horse-power engine.

Switzerland's chief exhibit was the 16 horse-power Piccard Pictet, which, needless to say, is an excellent hill climber, and is fitted with extra large radiating surface. The brakes are remarkably efficient, and there is a switch whereby the petrol and ignition are cut off when descending a long hill.

Czecho-Slovakia, our newest country on the map, was not unrepresented, and the Laurin Klement 25 to 50 horse-power represents a very efficient high-powered car, and follows the usual modern European design. It is very sturdily built to withstand all types of road conditions.

With regard to the coachbuilders' art, on which ultimately rests our personal comfort, everyone will, I think, agree that the present high standard has never previously been exceeded. There is a general tendency to try and reduce the weight of enclosed types of bodies, and to give them a more graceful streamline effect.

I am quite unable to go into the matter of accessories, whose name was legion.

UNITY AND DISMEMBERMENT

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

I HOPE I may be allowed to refer to some facts, known naturally to me only through newspaper reports, letters, and conversations. Nevertheless, one sees thereby how history repeats itself. There is really nothing new even in politics, though this is not always what our politicians and reformers would like us to believe. Thus when we read that India is on the threshold of a vast political experiment, we know that such innovations have already been tried, though elsewhere. It is also of particular interest to us Russians, because we have shared in the past with England the great problem of administering Asia. The experience of the Russian Government in the past has been that autocracy eliminated separatist agitation, and, as unity forms the backbone of a nation, dissension is thereby avoided. On the other hand, the results of democracy seem to have been in the direction of splitting up nationalities.

In Russia separatist agitation was at its weakest, naturally, when the autocracy was firm. The present revolution there has turned a great and glorious empire into a mosaic of small states which have proved a veritable nightmare. India, in some respects, resembles Russia (in the varieties of languages, religions, and customs), and, as a lover of England, I hope earnestly that the introduction of Western democratic methods will not lead to unforeseen results, as in Russia. Can it not happen that the introduction of Western politics amongst the Indians may lead them, as others, to hold divergent

opinions, thus paralyzing concentrated power? All these questions ought not to be treated *à la légère*.

Let me introduce my meaning by a small anecdote. If I ask a man of the world in Western Europe his opinion, for instance, about some boots, he will reply with astonishment that he is not a specialist in that subject. But if at a tea-party I put a political question, it turns out that everybody present not only pretends to have opinions, but recommends himself as a specialist. But the most disquieting feature is that everyone of these experts has a different opinion. In that case I prefer my humble bootmaker, who undoubtedly is a genuine specialist. Is it not possible that the same kind of thing might happen in politics? That love for solving difficult questions without proper knowledge and training may indeed prove dangerous.

But in connection with the much vaunted principle of self-determination I venture to write the following :

A very wise and clever principle has been adopted by the League of Nations : the respect for self-government according to national ideals. Yes, indeed ; let every country be governed as she likes and as she naturally craves for in spite of all difficulties. But what is the first step to be taken when you want to carry out that grand principle? That step is undoubtedly the acquisition of real knowledge.

As a Russian, I am therefore trying to do now what I have been trying to do all my working life, to spread knowledge about real Russia, and her ideals and cravings as we understand them.

In order to bring my arguments in their best form, I refer to my brother Alexander Kiréeff's works. He belonged to the National Party, and he was a remarkably well-informed man, tremendously patriotic, as was also my other brother Nicholas Kiréeff. He died in Serbia as the first Russian volunteer, and his death was the match which, according to M. John Aksakoff's definition, fired the trail in the Russo-Turkish War of 1876. His

splendid death was described by Kinglake in his preface to "The Crimean War" and by Froude in the "M.P. for Russia," edited by Stead. Real facts contradict in many respects views spread abroad chiefly by the enemies of Russia. Both my brothers Kiréeff were deep patriots and monarchists. Alexander worked almost all his life for the cause of the Old Catholics, but it was only after his death that the Czechs seem to have embraced these views. We all three were born at Moscow, that splendid capital with its beautiful Kremlin and numberless churches, whilst St. Petersburg was always the home of cosmopolitan and foreign intrigue.

Now, it is frequently said that Russia received from Byzantium not only her religion, but also her political ideas, and that we had not yet advanced beyond the ideals of Byzantine Russia in the days before Peter the Great. "These ideals," it is asserted, "are false, fruitless, and without any future. It is time, therefore, that we reconciled them with the more modern ideals of the West."

Let us examine these statements, so obviously false in all points, except in the question of Greek Orthodox religion. That Byzantium had an influence over our State organization before the days of Peter the Great is, particularly as regards superficial formalities, undoubted. But in weighing the good and bad results of this influence, we Slavophiles never forget one very important circumstance: our State could boast at least one great factor unknown to Byzantium, the Zemski Sobor (District Councils). The Byzantine Emperors consulted their Senates and Councils, but neither of these had any resemblance to our "Sobor," which was evolved gradually and entirely by the wisdom of our Tsars. The autocracy before Peter the Great was kept in touch with the people by these Sobors, or Assemblies, which were frequently convened, and which varied as regards members and procedure according to the questions with which they had to deal. Their advice was required by the head of the State, between whom and the people they

constituted a strong link. Doubt or misunderstandings are hardly to be found in those pages of Russian history which deal with the Sobor epoch. There was no room for any outside influence or party strifes. Mistakes were, of course, sometimes made, but generally in the means employed for the attaining of some purpose, not in the purpose itself. There could be no vacillating from one side to another, simply because the Government and the people constituted a complete and indivisible entity. The ship of State, though perhaps clumsy and cumbersome and slow, sailed safely through untroubled waters, and never lost its way.

In questions connected with autocracy, the opinions of Slavophiles are even more greatly at variance with Western views than in religious matters.

The formula of autocracy, according to Slavophil ideas, may be summed up in the words "One will and many minds"—whereas the Western Parliamentary motto seems to be "Many wills and not always one mind to guide them."

Here we have two types of State organization. Let us compare them and see what results are achieved by each in turn. What is it the Western mind finds so reprehensible in our autocracy? Is it the supposition that our people are not guaranteed against the blindness of evil intent on the part of the monarch? "The Tsar," say our critics, "may be completely separated from his people, may have no knowledge of conditions in the country, may be surrounded by an impenetrable wall, built up by bureaucrats and temporary favourites."

It would seem at first sight as if all these were indeed possible. On looking into the question more closely, however, it becomes obvious that under the constantly changing and improving conditions of an enlightened age, the chances of mental blindness on the part of the head of the State can only grow constantly smaller. As to evil intent, surely no one could seriously assert that such a factor as this is to any considerable extent probable. No sane person of even

average intelligence desires evil intentionally. Surely evil is brought about either by mistake or by carelessness or through an imperfect knowledge of facts. At this period we come back to the question of mental blindness. As to party strife, the desire to ruin an opponent, the lust for revenge, the wish to attain dishonest or personal ends, etc., all these temptations, though they certainly beset the private persons involved in the Parliamentary system, must not touch an autocrat, since he stands alone, above parties or private interests. However, it is difficult to argue on this question theoretically. Let us rather turn to facts, and glance into the pages of Russian history during the last 300 years. What do we see? The autocracy of the late Emperor Nicholas II. was, in its form, identical with that of Ivan the Terrible. The personal power of the head of the State was just as unlimited, the supremacy of the Emperor just as unquestioned.

And yet, who would assert that, *de facto*, the conditions were the same as in the past? The dreariest pessimist would hardly imagine that the frightful abuses of the days of Ivan the Terrible, of Peter the Great, and even of the Emperor Paul, would be possible or thinkable to-day. And yet our late Emperor was bound by no constitutions or agreements. The changed conditions were due only to the fact that the moral atmosphere and cultured surroundings in which he lived precluded all possibility of anything in the nature of the abuses of the past. It is impossible not to see and acknowledge the enormous change for the better that has come about through the natural progress of events, quite independently of any written guarantees or formulas, to which such miraculous results are usually ascribed. There can be no doubt that we shall continue to work out our own salvation very successfully in the same way, without resorting to agreements and Acts of Parliament. When society is at a low moral level, no constitutions of new-fangled laws can make any difference or act as a safeguard for peoples. When, however, a nation is

strong morally and physically, when the responsibilities of citizenship are ingrained in the people, together with a profound sense of duty and honour, constitutions and agreements are needless. Our constitution, our religious solidarity, our strength, must dwell within ourselves, where no one can take them from us.

Let us remember that on ascending their ancestral throne, our Emperors accept no obligations towards any kind of elective chamber and sign no documents or constitutions. But on their coronation they take upon themselves many very serious, important, and sacred responsibilities. Before placing the crown on the Emperor's head, the Metropolitan of Moscow asks the question, "What dost thou believe?" The Emperor then pronounces the Orthodox Creed, and it is only after this that he is crowned. This custom has a very deep meaning. It symbolizes the indestructible link between Church and State—a link which makes Russia "*Holy Russia*," and which gives our country an ethical foundation that distinguished it from the Parliamentary States of the West, founded as they are entirely on legal lines.

As to the much discussed reforms introduced by Peter the Great, our opponents are right when they assert that our Slavophiles regret the disappearance of many old traditions swept away by the great reformer under the influence of Western bureaucratic ideas. But they are wrong when they point to Peter the Great as the introducer into Russia of *Liberal* principles. There could be no greater error. Peter the Great certainly brought new Western customs into Russia, but it would be difficult to discover any *Liberal* tendencies among his innovations.

He was indeed one of the most typical examples in history of the well-intentioned, gifted, passionate despot. In the new State which he founded, countless technical improvements were introduced, as also many frivolous changes, but there was far less liberty than in the old Muscovite system which he had inherited and destroyed

The Church, for instance, had, in the old days, far more freedom and influence, while the voice of the people could certainly reach the ears of their Emperors much more easily in old Muscovite Russia than under Peter the Great and his followers. He, no doubt, introduced too many foreign officials. I must add that, although Peter the Great was undoubtedly the founder of our administrative State, he cannot be held responsible for all its subsequent developments. History has shown very clearly the shortcomings of the administrative bureaucratic State, which may occasionally achieve good results, but whose success is always merely temporary. It is surrounded by every kind of danger, the chief of which is the tendency on the part of the servants of the State to identify themselves with the State which they serve. The proud words of Louis XIV., "L'état c'est moi," may be in a sense justifiable when uttered by the great "Roi-Soleil"—though Louis XIV. had never the peremptory religious obligations which our Tsars always assumed. But when the same words are uttered by other functionaries, such as chiefs of police, that undoubtedly is one of their blunders and mistakes.

History has shown that all Parliamentary States are subject to change and are unreliable. We Slavophiles have no trust in the electoral systems, and would rather deal with the disinterested tyrant than with the type of modern politician often produced after centuries of Parliamentary government.

We in Russia were convinced that two years of a Committee's work would never suffice to liberate, and to a very great extent even endow with land, forty-eight millions of serfs, as was done in Russia in 1860, to our national pride. But I do not want in this article to write a detailed history of Russia, and to explain how she became a great influential power, sometimes deserving admiration, as in the year 1812, and how she came to be called by us even Holy Russia.

Can our experience be useful to India? That is a question

which I do not venture to answer. No doubt in foreign, as in home, policy, Russia has made mistakes. Where is the country which has never made them? Even Paradise has had its Adam and its Eve. "*Errare humanum est.*" But as long as a country has not deserted her religious categorical principles, there ought to be no ground for despair or apathy. How can we ever forget that during the recent diabolical revolution in Russia there were some four or five hundred priests of the Greek Orthodox Church who met their murderers with the cross in the hand? These remained, even in spite of tortures, faithful to their sacred duty to their creed and their country.

A proverb is sometimes quoted, which strikes me as immoral and demoralizing: "One man cannot replace an army." Undoubtedly. Yet a good example is never lost, and the feeling that you have to depend only on yourself, not counting on outside support, but have to forget yourself entirely, always acts beneficially on yourself and on others. A country which is guided by feelings of that kind, as was often done by my country, is deservedly described as "Holy Russia." But the present usurpers are not even consistent in their madness. At this moment anyone possessing property in Russia is, for that reason, persecuted and often killed. These same Bolsheviki when they try to establish commercial relations with civilized countries are not hampered by their professed hatred for capital and every other kind of property.

GREAT BRITAIN AND JEWISH PALESTINE

BY PAUL GOODMAN

(*Editor of the "Zionist Review"*)

By the fortune of war, Palestine has come under the sway of Great Britain, and a new problem has thus presented itself to British statecraft. The aim which Richard Cœur de Lion set to himself on his expedition to the Holy Land has, in a military sense, been attained by Lord Allenby's great exploit, but they who now govern the realm of England have shown even a wider vision than that which moved those who embarked on the third Crusade. For in the onslaught of Prussian militarism which threatened the very existence of Britain as an independent Great Power, men of diverse races and all creeds were enlisted in its defence, and in the far-flung battle-lines the honour of England was largely upheld by those to whom it was no more than a symbol of liberty and righteousness. Most strikingly was this the case in the victory which placed Palestine, a land so rich in noble associations and yet so full of bitter sectarian memories, in the hands of Imperial Britain.

Among the war aims of the Allied and Associated Powers there was none more remarkable than the idea of the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. It was Napoleonic in inception, and, whatever its immediate motive in enlisting the sympathies of the Jews in the lands of their Dispersion, was undoubtedly inspired by an idealism that raised the purpose of the Grand Alliance to a very high ethical plane. Mr. Balfour's Declaration to Lord Rothschild of November 2, 1917, pledging the British Government to support the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, had an electrifying effect in world-wide Jewry. It was not only in the Entente and neutral countries that Jewish enthusiasm rose to a white heat, but in the very heart of the enemy, in Germany itself, the Zionist

Jews had the moral courage to applaud the action of Great Britain in a formal resolution at a public conference. From Vladivostok to Buenos Ayres the Jews received the Balfour Declaration with the exaltation that moved the second Isaiah at the edict of Cyrus.

It is necessary to recall this movement in Jewry in order to realize that the adoption of Zionism as one of the war aims by the Allies in general and Great Britain in particular brought a new political factor into the field of international relations. The Jews had hitherto been content to claim the rights of individual citizenship in the lands of their allegiance; they now appeared as a people with immemorial national rights in Palestine recognized by the Great Powers. The conquest of Jerusalem by British troops was hailed by the Jews as a great deliverance, and the national redemption foretold by Jewish prophets and seers was proclaimed as near at hand.

It was in the tense situation created by the Easter disturbances in Jerusalem, the more intolerable because of the very restraint which the Zionists in the Diaspora imposed upon themselves, that the fateful decision of the Supreme Council at San Remo in April last was announced to the world. After many hesitations to carry their repeated promises into effect, the Great Powers of the Entente agreed to adopt the Balfour Declaration in favour of the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine under the Mandate of Great Britain. This decision, which was ultimately incorporated into the Treaty of Sèvres, gave international sanction to a policy that not only satisfied the age-long yearnings of the Jewish people but met the ideal of the new world-order that the Entente had endeavoured to create on the break-up of Turkey.

The most notable action of Great Britain was thereupon the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner for Palestine. This marked not only the change from a military to a civil Administration, but the definite recognition of the status of Palestine within the British sphere of moral as well as political influence. The selection of a man of Sir Herbert Samuel's type was in itself an acknowledgment of

the importance which the British Government attached to the office ; but of even greater significance was the fact that the future Governor of Palestine was not only of the Jewish faith but with pronounced Zionist sympathies. As a former Cabinet Minister who enjoyed a high reputation for his administrative capacity, the highest British representative in Palestine was an exceptionally authoritative personality, but in taking up his office Sir Herbert Samuel was swayed by higher motives than the efficient administration of that country. It was apparent to those who were familiar with Sir Herbert Samuel's views during the last few years that he had undergone a spiritual evolution which brought him within the sphere of Zionist influence. He realized, as comparatively few co-religionists of his environment have done, that the movement for the restoration of the Jewish people to its ancestral land was neither exotic nor crudely political, but pregnant with profound spiritual import, not only to the Jews but to the world in general. If in the case of Lord Robert Cecil the Zionist idea appeals to his highest Christian instincts, it has struck a responsive chord in the Jewish memories of Sir Herbert Samuel, memories reaching back to remote antiquity, to the days of Ezra and Nehemiah and Zerubbabel. To Sir Herbert Samuel the Restoration to Zion has raised up visions of the Messianic age foretold by the Jewish prophets. Withal he has remained the sober British statesman, almost austere in the conception of his duties.

The immediate task of the new High Commissioner was to pacify the various conflicting elements in the land, and in this Sir Herbert Samuel has succeeded in a measure beyond expectations. One feature in his favour was the clear-cut issues he presented to the inhabitants of the country in the King's Message he delivered to them on assuming office after the decision of San Remo, and his engaging personality has won him the confidence of Jew, Christian, and Moslem alike. His first concern is to introduce into Palestine that just, honest, and progressive administration which is the hall-mark of British rule, and to create and develop those administrative,

economic, and educational conditions which will give to the people an opportunity to rise from the neglect into which they had sunk under Turkish misrule. In this respect all inhabitants, without distinction of race or creed, will benefit; but in view of the preponderating numbers of the Arabs and their general backwardness, they particularly will gain immeasurably thereby. This has notably shown itself in the appointments to public offices which have been made by the new Administration, whereby the overwhelming proportion of officials are to be found among Palestinian Arabs. In this respect care has been taken to give the local population opportunities to train for self-government by filling the more subordinate posts almost entirely by natives. Of the officials of the junior services 91 per cent. are Palestinians, and of the technical junior services 97 per cent. An Advisory Council, consisting of the most competent representatives of the Administration and of all sections of the population, is already serving a useful purpose in focussing local opinion on the problems of government. Subject, however, to the policy of ensuring the general welfare of the country, the King's Message and Sir Herbert Samuel's statement on his accession to office have made it plain to all concerned that the British Administration will take what measures may be necessary to create in Palestine a National Home for the Jewish people according to the terms of the Mandate by which the country will be administered under the League of Nations.

In so far as the Jewish position in Palestine has been the cause of any anxiety, whether genuine or ignorant, but mainly due to anti-Jewish considerations in England and local politics in Palestine, this anxiety has shown itself in practice entirely artificial. The necessity for the development of the country economically and culturally being conceded, the only people to do it effectively are the Jews. With the exception of the *effendis* who hold large tracts of land uncultivated and the *fellahin* under economic subjection, there is no section of the Arab population that can feel its legitimate interests

endangered. The only other type that looks askance at the development of Palestine under the Zionist programme is the concession-hunter familiar to us from the old days of Turkish corruption. It is the firm purpose of the Zionists to keep this Levantine type away from the country, and to maintain the available resources for the public weal, Arab no less than Jewish. The type of Jews who are now coming to Palestine, and will obviously continue to arrive there for years to come, is not the speculator or exploiter, who can find a much better field for his talents elsewhere, but men and women who are desirous of earning their livelihood by the sweat of the brow. At present it is the Chaluzim (pioneers) who, largely from idealistic motives, are seeking their way to a country economically still so barren as Palestine. Many of these Chaluzim belong to the young Jewish *intelligentia* in Eastern Europe who are going to Palestine to find more righteous conditions than those which prevail in the blood-stained countries they have left behind them. It is intended to settle them on the wide uncultivated tracts of land which are to be found in a country so sparsely populated as Palestine; but until the necessary conditions for their reception and employment are brought into being, the Zionist Organization has set its face against the admission of a larger number than those that can profitably enter the country. The Zionist leaders have, in fact, incurred the severe criticism of those Jews who, like Mr. Israel Zangwill, desire that the country should be thrown wide open to Jewish immigration, but have not counted the costs. The responsible Zionist leaders are no less eager than their critics that the creation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine shall not be impeded by an unfriendly attitude either on the part of the British Administration or of the local Arabs, but there is a firm determination not to risk the success of a scheme of colonization which requires not only general goodwill but economic preparation. This is now in progress. On the one hand there is the possibility of developing the agricultural potentialities of the country infinitely beyond its present scope, and on the other hand there is the necessity of work of irriga-

tion and electric power that will give the country the chance of securing industrial development. It will be for the Zionists to find the capital, a considerable part of which will be sunk without return into the general improvement of the country. The Zionists will also bring into the land those human forces that will raise the country from its present poverty and neglect to the condition of a modern, progressive community.

As is obvious from the geographical position of Palestine, trade and commerce will occupy a prominent position in the future of the country, and in this the Jews will, as a matter of course, play the leading rôle. The occupation of Palestine by British troops and the issue of the Balfour Declaration are the main factors which have been instrumental in a new commercial orientation of the country, particularly in so far as her import policy is concerned. To illustrate this, it would be sufficient to point out that Syria and other Turkish territories, which used to be the chief sources of supply for Palestine before the war, are no longer shipping goods at all. Great Britain, which before the war occupied the second place, now comes first, and has increased its exports to Palestine about twelvefold. Egypt, which occupied a low position in the list of export countries to Palestine, now comes second, with an export trade increased about tenfold. Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany are hardly worth mentioning. If these three countries are at present out of the running, there are newcomers—India, Australia, and Japan—which export goods in considerable quantities. The total import trade of Palestine now supplied by Great Britain and British Dominions amounts altogether to over 55 per cent. of the total. In regard to exports from Palestine, the long isolation of the country and the ravages wrought by the war have done much to diminish her productive capacity. The long period of the administration of the country by the military, and the occurrences in Syria, Damascus, and the Hedjaz, have not failed to react very unfavourably on the export trade of Palestine. When referring to Palestinian trade, we should not overlook the economic relationship between Palestine and Egypt. The British public should understand that the Nationalist and

separatist movement in the latter country is a consequence of the considerable wealth acquired by the Egyptians during the war. There is much free capital now in Egypt seeking investment, and efforts have been made to obtain exclusive control of Palestine by Egyptian financiers. This is a subject which, in the interest of a healthy development of Palestinian trade and industry, should be carefully watched. One of the most urgent questions requiring consideration is the abnormally high shipping rates from Great Britain, which put a severe handicap on the British manufacturer and exporter. As against the average rate of 165 shillings per metric ton for many articles of essential necessity shipped from Liverpool to Jaffa, the rate from Havre is 205 francs, from Antwerp 275 francs, and from Hamburg 80 shillings for the same class of goods. With the probable development of Palestine under Jewish enterprise as a distributing centre, British interests stand much to gain by a reasonable attention to the trading community in that part of the world.

The cultural aspect of affairs is perhaps not the least important, at any rate to the Jews. The recognition of Hebrew as an official language in Palestine has given to that classical tongue the necessary status by the side of English and Arabic. The Jews are keenly anxious to create in Palestine an intellectual centre where Hebraism will find its unfettered expression, but, as experience has proved, it will be possible to do this in conjunction with the kindred Arabic language and literature. Just as it is the desire of Zionist Jews that Palestine shall ultimately develop into a self-governing commonwealth within the British sphere of influence, they are likewise anxious to maintain relations of intimate amity with their local Arab neighbours. It is the fixed policy of the Zionist leaders that the Jews shall share to the full with the Arab population those economic and cultural benefits which the Jews of the West will bring to the East, and, provided there be a peaceful growth of these fraternal relations between the two great races, which it is the Jewish endeavour to foster, Palestine will in time indeed become again the Holy Land in the highest spiritual sense.

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

ZIONISM

To the Editor of the "Asiatic Review"

SIR,—I have just read your review of my work on "Zionism and the Future of Palestine." Captain Cannon's position is a *surface* view; mine is based on the history beneath the surface. What he says applies to Jews in countries where the Jews have not their *full* civil rights—Russia, Poland, Hungary, and Roumania. It does not apply to Great Britain, United States, France, Holland, and Italy; and the obvious conclusion, therefore, is that injustice creates Zionism—I mean in its political aspect. Now, the Jews in Russia, Poland, and Roumania constitute two-thirds of the Jews in the world. Hence—from a *surface* view—Captain Cannon concludes that they form a separate entity that cannot assimilate politically. I deny the premise, and seek for the reason for non-assimilation in the conditions under which two-thirds of all the Jews are obliged to live. Wholesale emigration of nine million Jews is out of the question—certainly not to Palestine. Hence the solution must be found *in* the countries in which the Jews live.

MORRIS JASTROW.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE SITUATION IN ARABIA

To the Editor of the "Asiatic Review"

SIR,—I have read recently the speech that Lord Curzon delivered at the Annual Dinner of the Central Asian Society.

Lord Curzon's speech was very eloquent and of great interest to the British Empire.

Nobody doubts the words of Lord Curzon or his eulogies of Sir Percy Cox regarding his administrative wisdom.

The Arabs in general are well satisfied to see that the British Empire is interesting herself in the administration of this country.

But the discourse ends:

"Arabian unity and Arabian aspirations and ambition have been largely aroused by the recent war. Arabian ambitions as against Turkish rule had been justly fomented. Great difficulties had occurred owing to the ambitions of other countries. He would bitterly regret it if out of this welter in which we were now engaged there did not emerge some form of Arabian unity worthy of the traditions of the past."

He also says that in Afghanistan there was trouble and commotion, and he knew of no country in Central Asia where the Bolsheviks had greater hopes of causing trouble to Great Britain. His own feeling was that even

in the changed circumstances the interests of that country and British interests still remained identical. It would be a great misfortune if Afghanistan suffered her connection with Great Britain to be broken.

Lord Curzon truly says that the work of Englishmen in those countries was not over, and that it might take years before this commotion subsided, and that the Central Asian Society would have as great a part to play in the future as it had in the past.

We hope, in this connection, that the promises made to the King of the Hedjaz at the time of the war, when his co-operation and prestige were necessary, will not be minimized now that the war is over, because, by assisting him quickly to create a Central Arabian power and providing him with Englishmen of technical skill, he will be able to create a strong buttress against the enemies of the British Empire and civilization, and save them much expense and trouble.

King Hussein desires that an Arabian State be formed according to the limits fixed in the Treaty of 1915 with the Allies. Baghdad is to be the political and Mecca and Jerusalem the religious capitals. The plan is to have a constitutional government with two chambers, the first consisting of Arab notables corresponding to the House of Lords in London, the second to be on an elective basis. It is hoped to find room for the aspirations of all the races in the kingdom, but on unified lines.

My impression in Paris, gathered from official opinion, is that the French are not disposed to evacuate Syria as long as the British remain in Mesopotamia. But our people are quite ready to accord to France and England economical and financial control in these two regions.

The Bolshevik manner since the collapse of Wrangel has become more and more pressing. It has now assumed a definite southern direction. Therefore the time is short. No better barrier to their onslaught can be devised than a strong Arab State powerfully supported by England and France.

Within recent memory the theatrical German Emperor hastened to visit Abdul Hamis and outstrip the other Powers in his newly devised friendship. He placed a large wreath on the tomb of Saladin, and, cunningly intermingling sentimentality with trade, constructed the Baghdad Railway, bringing in its wake German commerce. But his scheme of world-power was shattered. The Allies conquered, and found themselves once more on the battlefields of the Holy Land.

In conclusion, may I recall the traditional friendship between England and Arabia, dating from the days of Saladin and Richard I., when the other European Powers were prepared to leave Arabia to the tender mercies of destiny. The incident is well described in Walter Scott's "The Talisman." Through the centuries this friendship has endured, to be consummated by the Treaty of 1915 between King Hussein and King George V.

Yours faithfully,

H. HABIB LOTFALLAH.

[The writer of this letter has, we are informed, come on a mission to England as an Envoy Extraordinary.]

JAPANESE POEM

O-HYAKUDÔ MÔDE (SANTA SCALA)

BY MRS. NAOKO OTSUKA.

At the first step I take,
 I think of my husband.
 At the second step
 I think of my country.
 But my thoughts return to him
 At the third step.
 This is the way women feel :
 Are they to blame ?

The Land of the Rising Sun
 In the whole world
 Stands peerless and alone ;
 But he too, who alone may call me Wife,
 He, the man of my vows,
 Stands peerless and alone
 In this land of morning glory.

Were you to ask me which is dearer,
 My country or my husband,
 Tears would be the only answer
 I could give.
 Ah, path of my prayers,
 Am I to blame ?

(Translation by PROF. Y. IITSUKA.)

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Among noteworthy books received, reviews of which will appear in the April issue, are the following : " British Beginnings in Western India," by H. G. Rawlinson (Clarendon Press) ; " The Charm of Kashmir," by V. C. O'Connor (Longmans) ; " From the Unconscious to the Conscious," by Dr. Gustave Geley (Collins) ; " The Rites of the Twice-born," by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson (Milford).

Amongst new publications received are the *Baltic Review* and the *Venturer*, the latter published by the Swarthmore Press in monthly issues.

The Imperial Institute Committee for India has just issued in their series, Indian Trade Enquiry, an interesting volume entitled " Reports on Rice."

OBITUARY NOTICE

JAMES D. ANDERSON, M.A., LLT.D., I.C.S. (RETD.).

By the death of J. D. Anderson, late of the Indian Civil Service, which took place at Cambridge on November 24, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, England and India have suffered a heavy loss. At the present juncture both countries can ill afford to lose a man of this type, for he was a strong link between the two countries. He had sympathy and knowledge, and his was always a conciliating influence. From his earliest days he was "a scholar, and a ripe and good one"—and his knowledge of Bengali and the vernaculars of North-East India was unique. He studied the manners and customs and folk-lore of the people amongst whom he lived and worked, and he was well beloved by all classes.

From Cheltenham and Rugby he passed into the Indian Civil Service in 1873, and served first in Bengal and then in Assam under Sir Steuart Colvin Bayley, G.C.S.I., then Chief Commissioner, whom he served as Chief Secretary. Thence he returned to Bengal as a District-Magistrate, and retired in 1900. He possessed linguistic and literary gifts of a very high order, and was one of the few administrators who could talk fluently to the people of his districts in their own language. He was the author of *Vocabularies of the Tippers-Deori-Chutra and Aka languages*, and of *Collections of Chittagong Proverbs and Folk Tales*, and wrote descriptions of the peoples of India for the Cambridge manuals. He was an able and fluent speaker, and his influence in debate was powerful, but gentle, and soothing, and conciliatory. He was always sweetly reasonable, and generally succeeded in convincing the unreasonable, making many friends, and but few, if any, enemies. He often spoke at the Meetings of the East India Association. His last spoken address before the Association was on July 30, 1918, on "India in France," with Lord Reay in the chair. But he wrote a long letter on Mr. Darby's paper, "The Study of Indian Vernaculars," which was read on October 20, 1919; and he contributed an admirable article on "The Calcutta University Report" to the *Asiatic Review* of April, 1920. He had been Cambridge University Professor in Bengali since 1907, and he continued to work for India to the end. His loss will be deeply deplored not only at Cambridge and in London, but throughout the East and West, and especially in Bengal, where his memory is still warmly cherished, and where old and true friends are not soon forgotten, whatever their race or creed may be, or whether they are "sun-dried bureaucrats" or not. India needs a few more faithful servants of the type of Anderson, of whom it may well be asked why was he not "honoured" by "the Powers that be."

J. POLLER.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

THROUGH DESERTS AND OASES OF CENTRAL ASIA. By Miss Ella Sykes and Sir Percy Sykes. (*Macmillan.*) 21s.

(*Reviewed by* SIR GEORGE MACARTNEY, K.C.I.E.)

We welcome this book as a valuable contribution to literature on Russian and Chinese Turkistan—the more so as for some time past, apart from bolshevist activities at Tashkent and Bukhara, we have heard but little about those countries, owing, no doubt, to the embargo imposed by the late war on travellers and scientific expeditions. The authors were nine months in 1915 in Turkistan—just at that time when Russia was fighting valiantly by the side of the Allies, whilst China, a phoenix, bedraggled and unfledged, struggling to rise out of the ashes of Manchu imperialism, was averring between neutrality and partisanship in the world-wide conflict. It was at that juncture that Sir Percy Sykes was appointed to officiate at our most easterly situated Consulate in Chinese territory—namely, at Kashgar, a town of no small political and ethnological interest, by reason of its proximity to “where three empires meet,” which makes it a point of convergence of various frontier problems, some of present-day importance, as well as a centre of diverse cultures, ancient and modern. In “Through Deserts and Oases” Sir Percy Sykes and his sister, who was with him, bring vividly before us the sceneries, life, industries and customs of the country in which they dwelt and travelled.

Kashgar is on about the same latitude as the Mediterranean; yet such were the war conditions that, as a preliminary to their real journey, the travellers had to go northwards to Norway and Sweden, and even penetrate into the Arctic circle at a place called Karungi before they could make their way into Russia, through which the road to Kashgar lay. The Russia they saw was full of hopes as to ultimate success in the war. In Turkistan there were some 16,000 German and Austrian prisoners; and Tashkent, when the travellers arrived there, was gaily decked with flags, in honour of the taking of Przemyśl. Whenever they met Russian officers there was the usual exchange of good wishes, accompanied by the clinking of glasses to the health of the Tzar and of King George. It is pathetic to think of the coming change, then undreamt of—to think that the authors of “Through Deserts and Oases” were about the last Britishers to catch a glimpse of Russian Central Asia before that country became

engulfed in the gloom of Bolshevism; and what a contrast between the reception accorded to them and that which was meted out to Major F. M. Bailey, an officer in the same service as Sir P. Sykes, when, a short time after, he visited Turkistan under the Leninist régime!

Proceeding eastwards from Tashkent to Osh, the travellers reached the lofty Tianshan range which divides Russian, from Chinese, Turkistan; and this range, which had been visited only by two or three English ladies before Miss Sykes, they had to cross. Miss Sykes depicts with vividness of colour and truth of detail the grandiose panorama presented by those boldly serrated mountains, rising peak above peak, under their load of eternal snow; the encampments of the nomadic Kirghiz living in their "bee-hive-like homes, domes of lath overspread with pieces of felt"; the crossing of the Terek Dawan, a precipitous pass, some 13,000 feet high, on the watershed separating the basin of the Aral Sea from that of Lob-nor; the pack-horses staggering under their loads of bales of cotton; the toll paid by them with their lives, evidenced by their skeletons bleaching in the mountain snow.

The Tianshan range between Osh and Kashgar is usually crossed in twelve marches. On their arrival at their destination the travellers had an excellent reception from all classes—Chinese officials, members of the Russian Consulate, British subjects, etc.

During Sir Percy Sykes's tenure of the British Consulate at Kashgar he and his sister made two tours—one to the Pamirs, and another to the towns of Yarkand and Khotan; and their book gives an excellent account of those places. Only a few Englishmen have had the luck to shoot an *Ovis Poli*. Chapter XVIII., which deals with Sir P. Sykes's experiences in stalking his quarry, cannot fail to interest sportsmen contemplating a visit to the "Roof of the World."

Whilst they were at their Kashgar headquarters the writers collected a good deal of information on the country in which they lived. Sir Percy Sykes's account of the government, the trade and agriculture of Eastern Turkistan, which is contained in Chapters XII. and XVI., may be perused with advantage alike by officials and general readers. Chapters III. to V. are replete with details on Kashgarian customs and institutions; these are from the pen of Miss Sykes and are written with keenness of insight as well as a woman's sensibility of touch. In her humoristic treatment of the domestic economy of the British Consulate, Miss Sykes points out much that will interest future *memsahibs* whose lot may take them to Kashgar and oblige them to set up housekeeping there. But there is just a point—a legal one—in her portion of the book on which the reviewer is rather afraid lest the Kazis of Kashgar should join issue with her. Justly indignant at the inferior position of her sex in Islamic countries, Miss Sykes rejoices at an institution which "for once gives them the advantage," and she goes on to mention a law that "if the husband divorces his wife, the latter may take all the movables in the house, and, as in the case of a merchant, much of his wealth consists of carpets and brass utensils, he often finds it cheaper to take a second wife than divorce the first, who would make a clean sweep of the household."

plenishing." The wish may be the father to the thought; but the thought has not yet assumed the more active form of practice in Kashgar, and if the law exists there at all, it is, alas! more honoured in the breach than the observance.

There is an historical sketch of Eastern Turkistan in Chapters XIII., XIV., and XV. This is rather too condensed to permit of its being easily followed—not surprising considering that it begins with the early Hans and takes us right up to the present time. Still, some points of contemporary politics are touched upon, such as the special rights enjoyed by Russian subjects under the Treaty of St. Petersburg, the "revolution" in Chinese Turkistan in 1912-13, and the consequent despatch of Russian troops to Kashgar. One could wish that these matters had been treated at greater length by Sir Percy Sykes. Though China herself was in the throes of a revolution in 1912, one may still wonder what objects Chinamen "in this old-world backwater of Asia," like the pork-butchers Pien and Wei, had in joining in, by massacring the Ambans and organizing their army of "Gamblers." Was their aim to bring in a new order of things which, rightly or wrongly, they were under a conviction would be for the benefit of the community as a whole?

Such data as we have point to the opposite conclusion. Indeed, there seems to have been much in common between the late Chinese "Gamblers" of Kashgar and the Bolsheviks now in Russia, the so-called followers of Karl Marx. Both had their grandiloquent catchwords, and both preached a new era; but they differed only in that the former's object was to turn the contents of the Yamen coffers into their own pockets, whilst the latter, more greedy, aimed at the transfer of the State treasury, plus the earnings of the bourgeois, to the same destination. But tacitly they were agreed that, once their pockets had been lined, the proletariat might be scrapped.

Such were the "Gamblers" mentioned by Sir Percy Sykes. They did not rule, but dominated, or rather had the run of, the Yamens (official residences) for the space of two years. Living on the proceeds of past taxations, supplemented by extortions from whilom Ambans who had grown fat in office and whose lives were held at ransom, they were in the ascendant for a time—doing, in justice it should be admitted, little or no harm to those outside the pale of the bureaucracy. The native Mahammadans, who took no side in this struggle and looked upon it as of purely Chinese concern, suffered no molestation, and foreign subjects incurred no losses. This condition of things lasted for a while. Then the men of the late bureaucracy, only a few of whom had been massacred, regained the upper hand, thanks to a coalition with some Chinese Mahammadans (Tungans) from Yunnan, who, contrary to all expectations, instead of joining in the general disturbance, ranged themselves on the side of law and order. Now the old bureaucracy have not only regained their power, but have also ruthlessly exterminated the "Gamblers," sharing the sweets of office with their new friends, the Tungans.

Whilst it lasted, however, the "revolution" caused no small uneasiness to the Russians. Russia enjoys special rights in this part of Chinese territory, which is on her own border. Here her subjects may carry on

trade, free of all Chinese dues, and acquire land and houses by purchase—all rights denied to foreigners in China proper. It need hardly be pointed out that the first concession is one with far-reaching consequences—it virtually places the Russian in Chinese territory in a better position as regards trade than the native in his own home. The result has been an ever-increasing tide of immigration from Tashkent and Bukhara, and this to such an extent that, before the rise of Bolshevism, no small percentage of the population of Eastern Turkistan submitted to no jurisdiction, other than that of the several Russian Consuls stationed in the province. It was, as pointed out by Sir P. Sykes, to give protection to their subjects that the Kashgar Consular Guard of two sotnias of Cossacks was reinforced by 800 men of the Turkistan Rifles. The latter duly arrived, thinking that they would have to cut their way into Kashgar. The "Gamblers" were on the road to meet them; but, most disconcertingly, it was to bring them into the city as honoured guests! Certainly, during the two years this detachment of the Turkistan Rifles remained at Kashgar no stone was left by them unturned to discover the need that would have justified their arrival; but all in vain: not even did the dynamiting of the Kashgar city gate move the stolidity of the "Gamblers." If complications which might have led up to a permanent occupation did not occur, it was less through the wish to avoid them on the part of the Russian officers than through the wise statesmanship of M. Sazonoff, then Minister for Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg.

INDIAN CO-OPERATIVE STUDIES. Edited by R. B. Ewbank, I.C.S. (London, Bombay, and Madras: *Oxford University Press*, 1920.) 14s. net.

(*Reviewed by* W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.)

This book appears in the Economic Series issued by the University of Bombay, but it is very different from the ordinary academic study. It is propaganda rather than research, looking to the future more than to the past, and as the preface says, its chief aim is to bring the larger problems of the co-operative movement in India before the general public, and to indicate the lines on which solutions are being sought. It forms a handy and readable volume, marred only by the absence of an index (surely a discreditable feature in a University series at the present day); and it is duly "introduced" by the veteran Mr. Wolff, though his remarks would probably have been even more stimulating than they are if he had had an opportunity of reading the essays before he wrote. The method of the book is that of the symposium. Each aspect of the subject is treated by an expert who accepts sole responsibility for the opinions he expresses, and the reader will find that the treatment is characterized by the advantages and drawbacks incidental to the method. There are occasional lapses in regard to co-ordination, occasional differences of standpoint, and while some of the essayists are content to tread the solid earth, others soar into the empyrean regions of pure apocalypse. Making every allowance for these features, the fact remains that the book fulfils the promise of the preface, and it is well worthy of serious study by everyone who is interested

in the social and economic regeneration of India: Taking the essays as a whole, the central problem of the movement is undoubtedly that of its future relations with the State—not the old “efficient” bureaucracy, but the new and human governments which are just coming into existence throughout the provinces. The movement will be an assured success only when it is controlled by the co-operators themselves, but that stage is still far distant, and while so much has to be done for the people, there remains the risk of what a recent writer has described as bureaucratization. Is it possible for an Indian government to engage in a steady policy directed to its own ultimate elimination? And, if the elimination succeeds, will it be possible to prevent other unclean spirits from occupying the void? A formal answer to such questions as these will not be found in the volume under review, for in fact they cannot be disposed of *a priori*, but it is permissible to hope that solutions will be worked out in time by a continuance of the experimental method, which has already yielded such important results. That method requires continuous and searching self-criticism, and it is precisely the presence of this element which makes the essays of Mr. Ewbank and his collaborators so stimulating.

READINGS FROM INDIAN HISTORY FOR BOYS AND GIRLS. By Ethel R. Sykes. Parts 1 and 2. (London: C.S.C.I.) 2s. net each.

Reviewed by the DEAN OF WINCHESTER.

These are very pleasantly written sketches of the history of India for children. The story is well and brightly (if not always accurately) told, and should be attractive and useful in arousing the interest of the young in the romantic past of the great peninsula. The illustrations of Part 1 are especially well chosen and well reproduced. Here and there a few paragraphs of contemporary writers are added. The books will not in anyway conflict with the two volumes of “New Readings from Indian History,” published by Messrs. Cooper, of Bombay, the aim of which was to direct the attention of the older students of schools and colleges to the original authorities for the early and British percepts. If Miss Sykes’s books are intended for use in England—and they might well be used here, for a child’s history of India is much needed—it would be well to make the picture of Muhammad more true to fact by not leaving out the shadows from the portrait. And the ignorant (of whom this reviewer is one) might be told what the mysterious initials C. L. S. I. mean.

W. H. H.

THE RITCHIES IN INDIA. Extracts from the Correspondence of William Ritchie, 1817-1862, and Personal Reminiscences of Gerald Ritchie, with Portraits and Illustrations. (London: John Murray.) 1920. 27s. net.

(Reviewed by A. L. COTTON)

Mr. Gerald Ritchie, the compiler of this book, is the great-grandson of William Makepeace Thackeray, the “elephant hunter of Sylhet,” who was the grandfather of the creator of “Colonel Newcome”; and “The

Ritchies in India " accordingly carries two generations further the family history begun by Sir William Hunter in his "*Thackerays in India*," and continued by Lady Ritchie, the daughter of the novelist, in her introduction to the volume of "*Ballads and Miscellanies*," in the Biographical Edition of Thackeray's works. Mr. Ritchie's own contribution covers the period of his service as a Bengal civilian, from 1815 to 1901. The letters of his father, William Ritchie, whose mother, Charlotte, was the daughter of "Sybith Thackeray," were written between 1828 and 1862.

It was in 1842, after a career at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, that William Ritchie was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and from 1855 to 1861 he filled the office of Advocate-General of Bengal. In September of the latter year he was appointed a provisional member of the Governor-General's Council, and was confirmed as legal member a month later. He died in Calcutta, on March 22, 1862, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Maine.

His correspondence, as now published, is of a social and domestic rather than a political or literary character, the letters, with few exceptions, being written to immediate relatives, and touching lightly on the occurrences of everyday existence. He was a genial and attractive correspondent, and his letters reveal him as a man of conspicuous kindness and charm of character. His cousin Thackeray, the novelist, who was six years his senior, was, it is evident, devotedly attached to him. "Well, Charlotte," he exclaimed, on hearing of his death, "William is now a member of the Council of Heaven."

In the earlier letters there are some caustic comments on John Company and its servants and on Lord Ellenborough, and it is agreeable to note the manly independence of character and judgment which distinguished the young barrister. But it is rather in the half-humorous pen portraits of his own contemporaries, such as Bishop Wilson, the Deputy Governor Wilberforce Bird, and the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Dampier, that his neatness of touch is shown to advantage. He occupied a unique position in Calcutta society, and was that rarest of combinations—a good man, a man of humour, and a man who was popular with every class of the community.

His son, whose reminiscences occupy a hundred and thirty pages, has inherited (besides the stature) many of the qualities which won for his father the esteem of all who knew him. His sketches are slight, but they are pleasant. A chapter on the Winchester of 1866-1872 will appeal to many Wykehamists; the lively thumbnail impressions of Anglo-Indian notabilities will interest a wider circle. If neither the father's letters nor the son's recollections pierce deep below the surface, they at least afford the reader a welcome and unassuming glimpse of the private life of Englishmen as it was lived in India in the nineteenth century. The student of new India will not derive instruction; but if the history of a time is best to be learned from private memoirs, this book, wholly apart from the "Thackeray interest" which it possesses incidentally, should have no difficulty in finding an appreciative public.

RECONSTRUCTING INDIA. By Sir M. VISVESVARAYA, K.C.I.E.
(P. S. King.)

[Reviewed by STANLEY RICE (I.C.S. RETD.)]

Sir M. Visvesvaraya preaches the millennium. He has reconstructed India—at any rate on paper—so thoroughly that if all his ideas could be realized we should be once more in sight of the Golden Age, and the Kaliyuga, the evil time in which we live, would have departed like a nightmare. So comprehensive is his programme and so wide his survey, extending over Great Britain, Canada, the United States, and Japan, with occasional references to Russia and Germany, that we are left wondering if this man, who handles practical affairs in the spirit of the City, can belong to the idealist Indian race who love to theorize without much thought of detail. And yet when we look again, past the imposing array of figures with which we are greeted, to the policy which he outlines we wonder now whether the author has ever been in India at all, and now whether, after all, we are not reading the Oriental mind in European dress. There is on the one hand a pathetic assumption that government, if wisely conducted, can accomplish almost anything; on the other an equally pathetic belief in the response of the people to all such counsels of perfection. The chapter on agriculture is peculiarly illuminating. “The policy of agricultural development,” we are told, “is controlled, not by experts, but by members of the bureaucracy. . . . Knowledge is therefore lacking, and the technique of modern cultivation is undeveloped.” True the Director of Agriculture is usually an Indian civilian, and quite possibly that is wrong; but the Deputy-Directors upon whom he relies for scientific advice, and whose business is the science rather than the policy of agriculture, are in fact experts, and cannot but have a great influence upon the policy itself. Or again, we are told that “the existing breeds of cattle need improvement,” and that we must “attend to questions relating to stock-breeding and fodder-supply.” As if this very question were not the despair of local governments! As if orders innumerable were not issued, pamphlets written, advice given, without any visible effect on the ryots’ conservatism! We are to provide temporary loans, facilities for procuring draught cattle, good seed, etc; we are to establish agricultural societies; but we are not told that temporary loans for the reclamation of land, for the sinking of wells, for the purchase of seed grain and cattle, have been offered by the Government for at least thirty years past, or that the establishment of agricultural societies, eagerly welcomed at the time, proved a dismal failure in Madras for want of any real interest in them—not by the bureaucracy, but by the representatives of the people.

The book is interesting as a psychologic study of mentality. Sir M. Visvesvaraya is a product of the times. Earnestly seeking for a policy which will lead to the speedy progress of India in the world, and patiently developing his ideas of reconstruction, he turns to the West throughout for his inspiration, and betrays his habit of thought even in the rather official and dogmatic style of his writing. He has evidently no liking for the government by a foreign bureaucracy, and again and again insists that

attention divided between the interests of England and the welfare of India is hampering the development of the latter. He is not an extremist in the sense of demanding complete independence, but he thinks that progress is only possible when all real power is in the hands of the people. "The people," he says, "have long been convinced that without political power and Government support adequate progress is impossible," and therefore he demands the control over economic policy. Or again, he complains that the Government "has actively discouraged all forms of autonomous organization or societies for mutual aid." This is his creed, but scattered throughout the book we find dogmatic assertion of the kind without any attempt to prove it by illustration or argument. That the Government has actively discouraged all forms of autonomous organization may be true if the writer is referring to political movements of a subversive tendency; if, again, he has in mind the village system, it is undoubtedly the case that the development of State departments has atrophied the ancient constitution, but it is not easy to recall any active discouragement of societies for mutual aid.

And amidst these schemes for developing India on Western lines one looks in vain for any generous recognition of the foundations which alone have made such development possible. The bureaucracy may have failed to bring India up to the standard of Japan, through inherent defects in the system and through its very nature as a foreign Government. Yet not merely the material advantages of irrigation, of a systematized education, of banking or of railways, but even the ideas of organization and social reform, can be traced back to this delinquent bureaucracy. Little, if any, emphasis is placed on the attitude and mentality of the people. "Caste," it is admitted, "is responsible for most of the social disorders from which India suffers," and "a special attempt should be made to render the system more elastic." What is the remedy? A vigorous propaganda by the leaders of the people and good legislation. We should have a law sanctioning intercaste marriages. The writer cannot but be aware that Government is ready to pass such a law to-morrow if public opinion would permit it; he must know that social reformers have been working for years to remove some of the most glaring anomalies of the caste system, with very little result. Again, we are told that "the Press is in chains, anti-sedition laws flourish," and that the Press is a poorly equipped and persecuted agency. But there is no hint that the Press as a whole has not yet learned the difference between freedom and licence. It is true that certain publications in the United Kingdom transgress the bounds of sober journalism, but that, it is submitted, is an argument for restricting the licence of the Press in England, not for extending it in India.

Nevertheless, the book is an honest attempt at constructive criticism, and as such it is welcome. The author's reply to his critics might well be that his purpose was not to go back to the beginning of things, but, seeing things as they are to-day, to point out the possibilities which lie before the representatives of the people. And when all is said and done, the main obstacle is stated in the concluding words: "A consciousness should be roused in the Indian mind that a better state of things exists outside, and

a vastly better state of things could be brought into existence in India itself if the people only willed and worked for the same." That is the problem.

FAR EAST

SINO-IRANICA: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran, with Special Reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products. By Berthold Laufer, Curator of Anthropology. (Chicago: *Field Museum of Natural History*, Publication 201, Anthropological Series, vol. xv., No. 3, 1919.)

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR S. H. VINES, F.R.S.)

This somewhat bulky volume (pp. 630) is a contribution to the study of the mutual relations of China and ancient Iran; it is limited to the history of certain objects of material culture, cultivated plants, drugs, and other vegetable products, textiles, metals, and precious stones, in their migration from Persia to China (Sino-Iranica) and from China to Persia (Irano-Sinica). The account necessarily involves linguistic considerations, more particularly the Chinese laws of transcription from foreign tongues, which are dealt with, briefly but clearly, only so far as is necessary for the main purpose of the book.

The interest centres in the migrations of the cultivated plants, of which about one hundred are discussed in chronological order. Among the plants which, according to the author, reached China from Iran, are the following: Alfalfa (lucerne), grape-vine, pistachio, walnut, pomegranate, garden pea, assafoetida, date-palm, almond, fig; and among those which reached Persia from China are the square bamboo, peach, apricot. Closely connected with this is the question of the introduction of paper from China into Persia, and of paper-money made from the bast of the white mulberry. Each case, whether it be of a plant, a drug, Persian rugs, or a precious stone, is discussed with a wealth of detail replete with references to authorities and with fresh information gathered from a number of Chinese texts. So important is this new material that it would appear that the further elucidation of the ancient history of objects of material culture must be pursued in this direction.

The author is to be congratulated on the success of his "attempt to determine the Iranian stratum in the structure of Chinese civilization." As he points out, "it is not easy to combine botanical, Oriental, philological, and historical knowledge" necessary for so great an undertaking, but he has proved himself not unequal to the difficult task. His work is a mine of information, not only to the student of Asiatic civilization, but also, and more particularly, to the historical botanist.

NEAR EAST

THE VICTORY OF VENEZUELOS. By Vincent J. Seligman. (*George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.*) 5s. net.

Mr. Vincent J. Seligman, under the above alliterative title, has given the student of the Great War a useful handbook as to the part played by the

contending factions of the Greek Government in the world-struggle for freedom.

The author tells us he has ventured on this study of Greek politics from 1910-1920 because of the insidious propaganda carried on from headquarters in Switzerland with the express purpose of convincing London and New York that the only hope for the salvation of Greece lies in the restoration of ex-King Constantine. From the same sources we are assured that, to a man, the Greeks are weary of Venizelos.

The author admits that the "slight reaction in Greece itself" which has set in during the last few months gives a "remote semblance of truth" to the above statements, but this reaction is not due to unrequited longings for the return of the deposed sovereign, rather is it but the normal vexatious aftermath of the war. Greece, like England, has its Bolsheviks, profiteers, and other undesirables, but unlike England, being then (January, 1920) still at war with Turkey, she had been unable to set her house in order, and this internal disorganization was the main cause of the unrest. Mr. Seligman is right in his contention that the return of the ex-King would be fraught with disaster to Greece, but he and a host of similar writers fail to serve the cause of Greece when they minimize so blindly the extent of the existing bitterness and internal strife, perhaps inevitable in the past, but to be neglected now at the gravest national peril.

The "secret correspondence" between Athens and Berlin should prove of interest to those Royalist Greeks who proclaim themselves friends of the Entente characterized by their ex-Queen as "those infamous pigs." However, this may be a playful pleasantry on her part, seeing that she expressed a desire for their company after the war, but she can never again pose as a model of domesticity ignoring and detesting political intrigues. F. R. S.

RUSSIA

FROM LIBERTY TO BREST-LITOVSK: The first year of the Russian Revolution. By Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams (Mrs. Harold Williams). (*Macmillan and Co., Ltd.*) 16s. net.

Mrs. Williams, in adding to the already voluminous literature of the Russian Revolution, has written a book that deserves the careful attention of all who are interested in the most outstanding phenomenon of our times. And she has particular qualifications for her task. As a member of the Cadet party, she welcomed the Revolution of March, believing that her country had at last been freed from the fetters of the old régime. Little did she or other enlightened Russians realize in March, 1917, what November of that same year would bring. And yet, in spite of the non-fulfilment of her aspirations, she pursues her story as impartially as is possible for one who was not only a contemporary, but actually a witness of most of the events she describes. And this is valuable, for Bolshevism has come to excite either hysterical eulogies or dreadful imprecations, and it has become not only the touchstone of our political creed but even of our respectability. Meantime, whatever it contains of value is lost sight of. For some it is simply the materialized principle of evil, for others an immense stage towards the millennium. There is no middle way.

Mrs. Williams's book takes us as far as the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. As a record of facts it bears the impress of accuracy, in so far as accuracy is possible at this early stage. At any rate she refrains from manipulating facts that are still obscure. And yet her story, even if we choose still further to discount much that she says, leaves one amazed at the turpitude, greed, and hypocrisy of the small band of international socialists who, with a view to internationalizing the world, attacked Russia as a prelude. Their German connection militated against a patriotism the virtue of which they denied by vigorously apostrophizing the Red Flag. The proletariat had no country, *vide* Marx.

The transition from the "bloodless" Revolution of March, 1917, to the violent *coup d'état* of November is well told by Mrs. Williams. In spite of the confused welter of events and of parties, she presents a coherent picture of what occurred as the balance shifted from the Right to the Left. The disruption of the country proceeded at an ever-increasing speed. Bolshevism—and later events have amply proved this—represents among other things the triumph of propaganda. It undermined the Army, which was the barrier against disorder, and its catchwords hypnotized a people already demoralized by war, hunger, and disease. However, it must also be remembered that Russia lacked the right men to lead her through her crisis. Kerensky seems to have been an anæmic mediocrity with a glib tongue. He paved the way for Lenin, who with brilliant fanaticism and unscrupulous concentration on his end was able to foist on an illiterate proletariat the whole Marxian programme, that he gracefully introduced by a seductive interpretation of robbery, murder, and the more violent anti-social activities. Whatever is the outcome of Lenin's vast experiment, he will probably live in history not so much as an incarnation of the anti-Christ, but as an intrepid experimenter, a Mohammed in economics, a pervert, and the supreme example of a man dominated by an *idée fixe*. His moral blindness in a world that, however cynical, certainly aspires to moral values, will be adduced as one reason of his failure, if he fails, as we believe he must. His neglect of everything external to his material conception is significant of the extreme narrowness of his views. Moral values are as vital, if not more so, than mere material progress. This fact seems to be generally overlooked. Without them, all Marxian economics, all mechanical readjustments within the community, are mere temporary palliatives. The ultimate "withering away of the State," to use a Marxian expression, can only be a logical concept.

Bolshevism, as it emerges from the pages of Mrs. Williams's book, seems to be in the nature of a fantasy. It is a pathological condition of the body politic and social, in many ways similar to a neurosis in the individual. Both result from past repressions and the accumulations of undischarged energy that at a given moment is released and then flows without proper directive help into abnormal channels. Mrs. Williams describes that moment of release. Brest-Litovsk represents the big historic landmark, almost a culmination, as it were, of the extraordinary psychological happenings that upset Russia, and threatened, and is still threatening, to sow dissension throughout the world.

But, in spite of the infinity of suffering she saw, the author ends on a note of hope. We believe her hope will be justified. It is the fate of mankind to progress on a zigzag course, but the course is sure.

SOCIOLOGY

RACE AND NATIONALITY. By John Oakesmith. (*Heinemann.*) 10s. 6d. net.
(Reviewed by JEAN FINOT, Editor *La Revue*, Paris)

Scientific errors are often the unfailing sources of human misery. Thus the old conception of races as being intangible entities has at all times engendered distrust, hatred, and consequently fratricidal wars between peoples and races. The moment it is admitted that there are races which are essentially and eternally superior to others, then the subjugation, and even the extermination, of those which are considered inferior becomes almost an international necessity. Fortunately, this scientific heresy, which cannot be justified on any grounds, is being more and more abandoned. And the author of the present work is to be heartily congratulated for contributing to this question his literary talent and his sure grip of scientific knowledge.

But if race as an invariable factor and constant element is to disappear, what becomes of the principle of nationality? Some have falsely imagined that as soon as races can become modified and subject to change through environment, then the principle of nationality also disappears into thin air. The author shows that these two questions are not dependent one on the other. No, nationality remains as a salutary doctrine in the stages of evolution, while the possibility of races existing which never change is becoming more and more called in question in the domain of true science. He establishes the fact that the principle of nationality obtains its driving force from continuity and common interest, and he proves it, with the aid of innumerable examples. For it is the combination of moral, material, and intellectual interests, as well as their continuity, which forms the binding cement and rallies the inhabitants of a country under the national banner. Thus nationality, according to the excellent definition of the author, is the organic continuity of common interests.

This thesis is supported in the most convincing manner. Mr. Oakesmith analyzes in a series of chapters the arguments of the clearest thinkers in the army of apostles of "race," who are recruited not only amongst the Germans, but also in French sociological circles, by Gustave Le Bon and others. He exposes the fallacy of the collective psychology of peoples, and refers to the old metaphysical conception that race has no foundation in practice. Numerous instances are quoted from the life of the Jewish people, particularly in the political and intellectual evolution of England, which serve to contribute to the final triumph of his thesis: that the principle of nationality is beneficial as a basis for peace among the peoples, whilst permanent wars are due to the racial doctrine. In drawing his conclusions from the lessons of the Great War the author shows the possibility, and, indeed, the necessity, of doing away with the national principle of Divine egoism and relying rather on international solidarity.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

THE Proceedings of the East India Association will be found on pp. 47 to 115. The next meetings will be as follows: January 24 (3.30 p.m.), at the rooms of the Association, 3, Victoria Street, Dr. Cecil Webb-Johnson on "Medicine in India"; February 21, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt., on "Some Non-Political Aspects of the Caliphate Question."

At a meeting of the League of Nations Union on November 30, Mr. Whelen delivered a lecture on "The Covenant and Labour." Mr. N. C. Sen (Member of Council, East India Association) in an interesting speech declared that he had been attracted to the League of Nations from the very beginning. "It is also very pleasing to me to say, and it may interest you to know, that Sir William Meyer, the recently-appointed High Commissioner for India, and who is my new Chief, is now representing India at the Congress in Geneva. He has for his colleagues, H.H. the Maharaja of Nawanagar and Sir Ali Imam, both of whom I may claim as old and personal friends. In their hands, I say with confidence that India's interests are perfectly safe. Prince Ranji will play the game: of that you may rest assured!"

LONDON BRAHMO SOMAJ

CELEBRATION OF THE BIRTHDAY OF BRAHMANANDA
KESHUB CHANDRA SEN

A LARGE and distinguished assembly met at 21, Cromwell Road, on the evening of September 19, to celebrate the birthday of the great religious leader of Bengal. The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Lytton, recently appointed Under-Secretary of State for India, occupied the chair.

Mr. N. C. SEN said: Your Highnesses, my lord, ladies and gentlemen, to-day we members of the Brahmo Somaj, both here and in India, celebrate the anniversary of the birthday of our Minister, Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen. It has been customary in the past years for our President, Sir Krishna Gupta, and then Lord Sinha, to welcome you to our gatherings. To-night we greatly miss their presence, but I can assure you that the welcome which we accord you is not by any means lacking in the smallest degree in warmth and cordiality. We thank you most heartily for coming here this evening and joining in our festivities. To your lordship we are very grateful for kindly presiding at our meeting at such very short notice, and at, I fear, considerable personal inconvenience. We regard your presence at this gathering, where you have an opportunity of meeting face to face so many of our young friends and countrymen, as

of the happiest augury, coming as it does so soon after your assuming the exalted office of Under-Secretary of State for India, an office which Lord Sinha held with such consummate success. May I also welcome Lady Lytton on behalf of our Somaj for gracing the meeting with her presence?

It will interest you to know that Her Highness Maharani Sunity Devi, of Cooch Behar, whose absence we greatly deplore on account of a very sad and recent bereavement and ill-health, has asked that her father's bust, which you see here to-night, might be kept in the home of the National Indian Association, a fitting shrine where to repose, for he, as you know, founded this Association with Miss Mary Carpenter in 1870. The bust is the work of Miss Catherine Allison Fellows, who was a well-known artist of that time.

Now, with your permission, I should like to give you a brief sketch of my father's life. [It is hoped to publish this in a subsequent issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW.]

LORD LYTTON said : *Though my family connections with India are many and long standing, my own official connection with India is somewhat too recent for me to speak with authority on Indian matters. No occasion on which to make my first appearance at an Indian gathering would be more welcome than this—the birthday of a man who united all creeds, who worked for community, goodwill, and fraternity. Among idealists there are some who can only see evils to be attacked, abuses to be destroyed, whose zeal burns best in an atmosphere of strife. Not so Keshub Chandra Sen. He always saw the best in men, the divine attributes in human beings; he always sought unity, not dissension; he was a builder, not a demolisher. As a religious teacher he was in the main a seeker after the divine essence in all creeds and denominations, and the divine purpose common to all. To read his life-story is like a living experience. There could be no finer example for English and Indians to take in this important crisis of their relations.*

H. H. MAHARAJ RANA OF JHALAWAR said : It gives me much pleasure in joining the party assembled here to honour the memory of the great Reformer Keshub Chandra Sen. He was one of those illustrious sons of India who have been inspired with the idea of doing service to their Mother Country by breaking the shackles of prejudices that prevent social and national progress. With the instinct of a great seer, he felt that the various social evils that were associated with the orthodox forms of religion in India were antagonistic to social and national growth, and at the same time he realized that the higher form of religion preached by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of *Adi Brahma Samaj*, was beyond the comprehension of the ordinary run of people. So he struck a middle course and preached a simpler form of theistic religion acceptable to all and fraught with unifying forces, being free from sectarian doctrines.

H. H. the MAHARAJA OF COOCH BEHAR said : Keshub Chandra Sen had great courage in his mission; he never faltered or lost faith. He left a very good impression in England; here he was perhaps better understood than in India. He was merely endeavouring to establish the purest form of theism, and to sweep away the false representation of old customs. He

wished to correct the mistaken idea about images, to point out that they are only symbols. He tried to differentiate between the spiritual and materialistic sides of religious belief.

His Highness then offered the thanks of the Society to Lord Lytton for presiding, and said he was confident that Lord Lytton would do well in his work for India—the land of his birth.

The meeting opened with a Vedic hymn sung by Mrs. Mukerji and ended with a Bengali song by Miss Mallik.

The Central Asian Society met on November 18, at 74, Grosvenor Street, when a paper was read by Major F. M. Bailey on "Turkestan under the Bolsheviks." Major-General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., was in the chair. In the course of the discussion Sir Michael O'Dwyer stated that whereas the lecturer had experienced difficulty in leaving the country, his own difficulty many years ago, when it was under the Imperial Government, had been to gain admission to it. Miss Houston related her adventures in the same region.

The Japan Society held a meeting in their old quarters at Hanover Square on November 18. The chair was taken by Mr. Marcus B. Huish, and a paper was read by Mr. J. H. Gubbins, C.M.G., on "The Hundred Articles and the Tokugawa Government." It was illustrated by lantern slides, and proved very learned—so much so that no discussion followed. Amongst those present were Captain S. Kobayashi (Naval Attaché to the Japanese Embassy), Mr. Arthur Diósy (Vice-President of the Japan Society), Lady de Rutzen, and Lady Newnes.

There was a meeting of the *China Society* on Thursday, November 25th, at the school of Oriental Studies, when Mr. MacGowan delivered a highly interesting lecture on "Life in a Buddhist Monastery." Sir E. Denison Ross (Chairman), in an introductory address stated that the lecturer was a fluent Japanese scholar, and that his experiences in the East had been quite unprecedented.

The lecturer distinguished between (1) Hinayāna, or Primitive Buddhism, as found in Burma, Siam and Ceylon; (2) undeveloped Mahayana, as found in India; and (3) the various stages of developed Mahayana prevalent in Japan and China. The Buddhism of Thibet and Mongolia he was inclined to place in a separate category. The major portion of his remarks concerned his experiences in Japan and China. In China Buddhism was largely a popular movement, and the monks were drawn chiefly from the ranks of the middle classes, with a sprinkling of the very high. The monks were often content to wait many years, as each additional year automatically increased the chances of high office in the priesthood. In fact, if a monk was ready to wait long enough, he could by a single promotion become an abbot of the first rank. In Japan, where the reformed form of worship was prevalent, promotion was more regular, the monasteries offered great educational facilities (e.g., Buddhist University of Kyoto),

and it was the practice for young men to enter for a few years, and then take commissions in the Army or Navy. Much had also been done by the monks for female education. The temples were often well endowed. In China the monks depended on charity; in Ceylon and Siam they received presents in food. The lecturer added that he had found the régime very strict indeed in China.

In the course of the discussion Mr. Arthur Diósy enquired about the punishments meted out to delinquents, and the lecturer stated in reply that a monk who did not know his prayers by heart was chastised with a box on the ears!

At the meeting of the *Anglo-Russian Literary Society* on Tuesday, 5th October, a paper on "The Republics of Old Russia" was read by Mr. W. Barnes Steveni. The lecturer traced the rise of the famous Hanseatic town, proudly called "Lord Novorod the Great," from the days of the Varangians from Scandinavia. Memorials are still to be seen of the ancient city. Its suppression, and that of the republic of Pskov, was due to Ivan IV. ("the Terrible").

On and November Sir Clive Philipps-Wolley's translations from Pushkin's "Eugène Onégin" and articles on Bolshevism by Mr. George Kennan and Rev. George Simons of U.S. were read by the President and Mr. Preston.

On 7th December the Rev. Dr. John Brownlie lectured on the hymns of the Russian (Greek) Church.

On Tuesday, November 23rd, the *Sociological Society* met at Leplay House. Mr. C. R. Enock, F.R.G.S., read a paper entitled "Some Suggestions towards a Science of Corporate Life."

The lecturer explained that the true principles of corporate life have not to be invented but applied. They already exist in nature. In the structural organisation of matter—*i.e.*, the linking up of units into federation, and the obedience of these units to the structural laws of place, function, and behaviour—we have the basic principles for Society, the equivalent social units being the individual, the local group and the nation.

Our failure to grasp the importance of the second of these has led to the over-centralization of our great cities, with stagnation, social and industrial, in our country towns and villages as a corollary. This over-centralization is partly caused by a semi-predatory commercialism. The Golden Rule of "Esteem thy neighbour as thyself" is no mere pious aspiration, but a scientific law, and is essential for the well-being of society. If regional life and industry could be adequately fostered, the regions, becoming largely self-supporting, would take their rightful place in the social structure, and our present social and economic difficulties would tend to disappear.

Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, who was in the Chair, said he was glad the lecturer was not in favour of cosmopolitanism, but saw the value of nationhood. We can regard England as a personality. The

lecturer and he had both been much abroad, and both had realized that fact. Then there were the smaller groupings. Good examples of these, when the larger divisions have broken down, are the village communities in India, which have persisted throughout political changes. It was a pity that the new Reform Scheme had not taken sufficient account of these village communities.

In conclusion Mr. Victor Branford expressed the appreciation of the Society to the lecturer for his suggestive paper.

A very enjoyable Farewell Dinner was given on November 22 by the *Oriental Circle of the Lyceum Club* to the Chinese Minister and Madame Sze, who are shortly leaving this country for Washington. Mrs. Theodore Stephenson presided in the absence of Lady Aberdeen: The menu card was specially designed for the occasion by the well-known artist, Mr. William Giles, of Chelsea, whose wife was one of the hostesses of the evening. Among the speakers were Sir John Jordan, Sir James Cantlie, Lord Shaw, Lord Chalmers, and Sir Charles Addis. The Chinese Minister delivered a very important address, which forms the basis of a contribution from his pen to the present issue.

The Anglo-Hellenic League held their Annual Meeting on December 6 at King's College, with the Hon. Pember Reeves in the chair. H.E. Mr. J. Gennadius, Sir Arthur Crosfield, and Mr. Cassavetti were among the speakers.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

SECOND ANNIVERSARY THANKSGIVING SERVICE

ON Sunday afternoon, October 24, an Anglo-Czech service was conducted at Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road, by the Rev. F. B. Meyer, D.D. Among those who attended were Dr. Mastny, the newly-appointed Minister to this country, Mr. J. Benes, *attaché* to the Legation, and Madame Olga Novikoff ("O.K."), the venerable Russian patriot. After the hymn, "All people that on earth do dwell," the Rev. T. B. Kaspar, Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, read in Czech and English the lesson (2 Thess. ii. 13-17). Dr. Meyer gave a cordial welcome to the Czech visitors, and said that four hundred years ago a Bohemian lady, Queen Anne, became consort of our King Richard II., and, through her, Wyklif's writings were sent to Prague, to exert considerable influence in the nation, culminating in the noble ministry and martyrdom of John Hus. Luther derived much inspiration from the life and works of the martyr of Constance. After the persecutions the Czech Brethren became the Moravian Church, to which Wesley owed so much. We are thankful that the Czecho-Slovaks have their liberty, and are making such good use of it, and that so great and good a man as Professor T. G. Masaryk is the President. That country is almost the only one that has maintained perfect order, unassailed by any outburst of revolutionary spirit. Her people are equally true in peace and

war, and we wish them many happy years of unbroken prosperity and peace. After prayer by the Bishop of the Moravian Church, the Brotherhood choir sang "Comrades in Arms." Greetings from the Evangelical Church of Slovakia and the Synod of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren were read by the Rev. T. B. Kaspar. An address was delivered by the Rev. T. Hunter Boyd, Presbyterian Church in Canada, who said that Hus was accustomed to address his flock as "faithful in God." The congregation represented almost every country in Europe, and included those of the Hebrew, Roman Catholic, and Greek Orthodox faiths. Three eminent friends of Bohemia had passed away: Mr. James Baker, the novelist and historian, Principal Dr. R. M. Burrows, of King's College, and Sir Vesey Strong, formerly Lord Mayor of London. The Slav peoples have an undying hope of which we can have no conception. It would be desirable if the word "Protestantism" could be changed for something better, as too often it stands for narrow-mindedness. Disraeli once said that though the vineyard of Israel had ceased to exist, the eternal law enjoined the children of Israel still to celebrate the vintage, and the Czech-Slovaks acted in the same spirit, and now enjoy their vintage again. Hus was a University man, St. Paul was another, and University men like Masaryk, Benes, and Stephanik, instead of standing on pedestals, helped those who had not their advantages. "O.K.," in her life of Skobelev, quoted the Czech statesman, Francis Palacky, to the effect that the Slavs repudiate all domination, demand equality before the law for all, and that no nation is to be the servile instrument of its neighbours. The Czech declaration of independence began with universal suffrage, the eight hours' day, and other reforms for which other countries had striven for centuries. Principles of magnanimity and toleration were proclaimed, and may God grant a continuance of this strength so that you may prosper in every good word and work. A collection was taken for the Czech Relief Fund, and the service closed with "God save the King," and the Czech National Anthem, "Kde domov muj" (Where is my home?). F. P. M.

A meeting of the Indian Section of the *Royal Colonial Institute* was held on December 14th at the Victoria Hotel, when Sir Francis Young-husband delivered a lecture on "India and England: The True Tie between Them." The Rt. Hon. Lord Carmichael was in the chair. The lecturer laid special stress on the importance of getting the right kind of Englishmen to go out to India. He criticized particularly the system of examinations for the Civil Service. The discussion that followed was shared by the Chairman, Lord Meston, Sir Charles Monro, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

THE NECROPOLIS OF ANCIENT THEBES

A RESCUE FROM OBLIVION

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

A GOOD instance of what modern archæology can do, and has done, to save for posterity the relics of former ages is afforded by the case of the great necropolis of ancient Thebes. On the west bank of the Nile, forming a background to the Theban plain with its majestic ruins, is a series of low hills pierced in all directions by small rectangular openings. These openings, on closer examination, prove to be the doorways of tombs, the "eternal houses" of the departed nobles and grandees of the ancient city, built by each in turn as a place wherein his funerary cult might be perpetuated when the time should come for him to pass "yonder" into the mysterious life in the nether-world.

The word "tomb" ill expresses these rock-cut chambers, which are gaily decorated with coloured scenes depicting the active life of the living mainly, and only in a minor degree is the idea of death suggested by the frescoes devoted to the scenes of the funeral procession and the last rites performed on behalf of the mummy. The actual burying-place is inconspicuous, being usually a small cell at the bottom of a deep shaft sunk in the floor of the innermost chamber; indeed, in not a few instances there is no burial place at all, the mummy having been laid to rest elsewhere. For want of a better term, these tombs, as we must continue to call them, are generally known as the "private tombs" in contradistinction to the "royal tombs," which are close together in the desolate valley of Bibân el-Mulûk, some little distance away. These private tombs are the chapels of the nobles and officers of state, and

persons of rank and wealth who served for the most part under the great Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, and they possess for us a strong human appeal. Vividly depicted on their walls, we see the courtiers at the palace, the magistrates on the bench, the military leaders directing the troops, the viziers receiving the tribute from foreigners from distant lands. It is pre-eminently from these scenes that our knowledge of the manners and customs of the ancient world is derived, for the great temples, sculptured as they are all over with scenes, portray for the most part only the ceremonial side of Egyptian life ; but in the tombs we may see, apart from the indications of the special callings of their owners, as mentioned above, all sorts and conditions of men playing their rôles in everyday work and play. We see the smith at his forge, the vintner and the cellarer at work, the makers of sandals and harness and nets, the carpenter with his tools, and the sculptor aloft on the scaffolding chiselling the hard features of a colossal statue. Potters, glass-makers, weavers, tailors, and a host of other craftsmen, crowd the pictures, while in the country the herdsman and the farmer are busy, and the fowler and the huntsman pursue their sport. The Nile is crowded with boats : state barges and cargo vessels, skiffs and canoes, sailing or paddling to and fro. From the artistic point of view, many of the tombs are veritable masterpieces, and there is scarcely one but has its own particular merit in store for our admiration. Again, many of the chapels, cut as they are into the heart of the living rock, are often marvels of engineering skill, and many are the artifices employed to achieve a given result when an adverse seam in the rock interferes with the architect's purpose.

We must now enquire in what state of preservation these relics have come down to us, and it is a gloomy tale to unfold. Plundered in antiquity, usurped and used as cells by solitary ascetics and as churches by the Copts in the early centuries of our era, and seized upon later as dwellings for man and beast by Arab families in more recent times,

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many of the tombs bear only too plainly the marks of the spoiler's hand. In some tombs the paintings on the walls and ceilings are effaced by smoke and dirt or washed out by pious fanatics. The drifted sand and rubbish has choked many others, and last, but not least, the modern tourist and the antiquity dealer have broken and defiled the walls in their attempts to cut out pictures or scenes, and have scattered the wreckage under foot. Much, indeed, has perished, but much remains to be saved, and archæologists must ask themselves whether they are justified in seeking and excavating new tombs whilst so much is already unprotected. Fortunately, however, some very definite steps have been taken to safeguard the tombs of Thebes, and the general condition of the necropolis is to-day in a more satisfactory state. Thanks to the enlightened liberality of private persons, notably Mr. Robert Mond, to the efforts of the local guardians, and of the *Service des Antiquités*, many of the tombs have been cleared, repaired, and provided with iron doors to protect them from further ravages.

A definite and final numbering has been devised and an admirable catalogue produced.* This latter has a series of photographic plates in which the position of each tomb is indicated, and the catalogue proper enumerates the owners' names and titles, the date, state of conservation, and finally the geographical position with references to the key-plates. Two hundred and fifty-two tombs are thus accounted for, and an admirable introduction and series of indexes completes the equipment of what is a useful and thoroughly well-done piece of work.

With regard to the publication of the scenes and inscriptions which the tombs contain, it is strange to find that in spite of the great mine of information they yield—artistic, architectural, historical and mythological—until quite recently scarcely one can be said to have been exhaustively

* "A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes." By Alan H. Gardiner, D.LITT., and Arthur E. P. Weigall. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1913. Price 10s. net.

and adequately published and made accessible to students. Writers on Egyptology of all periods have drawn freely on the material, and many selected scenes and inscriptions have been printed in a thousand-and-one books, but this method of publication is unsystematic and haphazard to a degree.* A step forward was made almost simultaneously by England and by America. Under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society and the Metropolitan Museum of New York respectively, two series of memoirs are in course of publication. Of the first American memoir, the sumptuous publication of the tomb of Nakht, we cannot speak now, but of the British series two volumes have appeared, and a third, we learn, is in an advanced stage of preparation. The first of these, the Introductory Memoir, appeared in the troublous times of the war, when our thoughts were diverted elsewhere, but its importance is such as to claim the reviewer's attention as a new book, although it actually left the press nearly five years ago.†

Dr. Alan H. Gardiner and Mr. Norman de G. Davies are jointly editing the series, and this first volume, which deals with a typical tomb of the eighteenth dynasty, that of one Amenembët, is written by the first-named scholar. Dr. Gardiner's great attainments in Egyptology are too well-known to need any comment in this place, but it would take something more than his pleasant and readable style of writing to conceal the long and patient and thorough research of which this book is the outcome.

* An exception to this statement must be made in the case of the Tombs published by the French Mission Archæologique, but the standard of epigraphic accuracy there maintained is a poor one. Another notable exception is the admirable memoir, "Five Theban Tombs," by N. de G. Davies, and published by the Egypt Exploration Society.

† The Theban Tombs Series: Edited by Norman de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner. First and Introductory Memoir—"The Tomb of Amenembët" (No. 82), copied in line and colour by Nina de Garis Davies, and with explanatory text by Alan H. Gardiner, D.LITT. London: Published under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society. 1915. Price 35s. net.

BALKAN NOTES

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

I

THE tragic death of the young King Alexander of Greece, after a brief and troubled reign, has had effects of international import threatening the dissolution of those none too stable elements of the peace on which it was hoped to base the reconstruction of a war-distracted world.

II

The achievements of M. Venizelos in the field of international statesmanship stand out matchless and unassailable. But it may well be that as one gazing at the noonday sun becomes blinded to the objects nearest to him, so Venizelos, absorbed in his herculean labours, failed to perceive, to its fullest extent, the incoming tide of domestic discontent.

The *Observer* tells us that :

"For most people the overthrow of M. Venizelos was as unexpected as thunder from a clear sky. Even those who profess to have foreseen it are soothsayers after the event rather than prophets beforehand."

This is not true of the readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*. They have been warned again and again of the coming catastrophe, and that on the authority of the two men best fitted to judge—the one striving day and night at Versailles for the realization of the age-long national aspirations of Greece, the hope of which had been the guiding star of Hellenism through the darkest days of captivity; the other just returned from Athens, where he had been endeavouring to steer public opinion between the Scylla of reaction and the Charybdis of anarchy.

That Venizelos was beginning to see the dangers ahead is proved by the conversation between himself and Dr. Drakoulis at Paris on November 22, 1919, when Dr. Drakoulis warned the Premier that a "great storm of discontent was brewing in Greece,* which may break out before the Constituent Assembly can be summoned." M. Venizelos admitted the impending storm, but relied on the love of the Greek people to avert it—and who can doubt that love was still glowing, despite the adverse vote, just as many months before those whose lips had voiced the anathema burned tapers for the salvation of the leader they were cursing?

"With profiteering rampant, the high cost of living, and widespread privation, Greece," said Dr. Drakoulis, "is the most harassed country in Europe. Freedom of speech does not exist, and all allusions to the pre-

* Greek Notes, *ASIATIC REVIEW*, January, 1920.

vailing conditions of misery, terrorism, and waste of public money are tabooed."*

III

Here may be given a few points from an article which appeared in *Justice* on December 2, 1920. Dr. Drakoulis writes:

"Greece ten years ago made a revolution, and entrusted to M. Venizelos the direction of her destinies. . . . Those last three years he became intolerably autocratic and, moreover, was not constitutionally elected in 1917, but was imposed by England and France. . . . Greece voted against his domestic, not against his foreign, policy.

"Both Constantine as King and Venizelos as Prime Minister have, in their time, made freedom of speech impossible, and that alone, in Greece, would have been enough to discredit them. Restrictions were inevitable during the great national work he was carrying on in the capitals of Europe. . . . Had M. Venizelos removed those restrictions the day after the signature of the Bulgarian Treaty, as I advised him to do when I saw him on the eve of the Neuilly Conference, his popularity would not have suffered so much.

"M. Venizelos is a personal friend of mine, and, if I know anything of his character, I am sure that in his heart he is glad that the Greek people showed spirit enough to reject him rather than abjectly to surrender themselves to his will. I am sure that at this moment he is more optimistic as to the future of Greece than when I saw him last a year ago.

"England and France cannot punish Greece because she voted against a Prime Minister who served her for ten years. . . . They must take this vote as the expression of the sovereign will of the Greek people. . . .

"Balkan unity ought to be the policy of the Entente. For this, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Greece could co-operate. There is no reason why Constantine should not be made an efficient agent for the promotion of this policy. . . .

"If Kings must be maintained for the present, Constantine is no more undesirable than any other.

"The Greek people have given an excellent lesson to the democracies of Europe by their vote of the 14th November. They have proved that a revolution can be effected in twenty-four hours by a determined use of the vote. . . . When voters know what they want, what need is there of violent methods?

"May the democracies of Western Europe take this Greek lesson to heart."

[N.B.—When Dr. Drakoulis warned King Constantine (four weeks before he lost his throne) as to the consequences of his obduracy, the King replied that he had only the interests of Greece at heart. This noble sentiment Dr. Drakoulis recalled in his letter to *The Times* published on December 7, 1920.—A. R.]

* Greek Notes, ASIATIC REVIEW, January, 1920.

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